

Abstract

This thesis is an investigation of the liturgical inculturation of Anglican worship in Sabah, Malaysia. This study is essential in order to assess the impact of Anglicanism on the spirituality of the indigenous people, specifically the Kadazandusun in the context of worship with a view to inculturation of the liturgy.

The research methodology employed in this thesis includes historical, survey, analytical liturgical study and the personal context of the researcher as a significant insider. The historical approach reviews, examines and interprets the historical developments of the Anglican Church of Sabah in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Survey in the forms of interviews and questionnaire assess how Christianity had challenged the religio-cultural beliefs and practices of the Kadazandusun and their understanding of the gospel. The analytical liturgical study identify convergent and divergent practices in the process of inculturating the Anglican worship for the fostering of the Christian spirituality of the indigenous people in the Anglican Church of Sabah. The researcher, as a significant insider, provides strong additional series of insights for this project.

This thesis is organised into three parts corresponding to three movements of inculturation in the Anglican Church of Sabah. The first part is an investigation of the first movement, which encompasses the encounter between the Kadazandusun religio-cultural beliefs and Anglican Christianity introduced by the missionary groups in Sabah. The second part is the examination of the second movement – a critique of the encounter between Anglican worship and Kadazandusun spirituality. The third part is an evaluation of the Anglican worship in Sabah, specifically analysing the factors that have contributed to the hindrances of integrating the gospel with the lives of the people through worship.

It is the goal of this thesis to challenge the Anglican Church of Sabah to embrace indigenous Christian worship by implementing inculturation in light of the spirituality of the indigenous people, specifically the Kadazandusun. This will be implemented in a multicultural context in Malaysia.

**Liturgical Inculturation in Anglican Worship in
light of the Spirituality of the Indigenous People of
Sabah, Malaysia**

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By

Judy Berinai

B.D. (Trinity Theological College, Singapore)

**M.Th. (Wycliffe College/Toronto School of Theology, University
of Toronto, Toronto)**

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ABBREVIATIONS

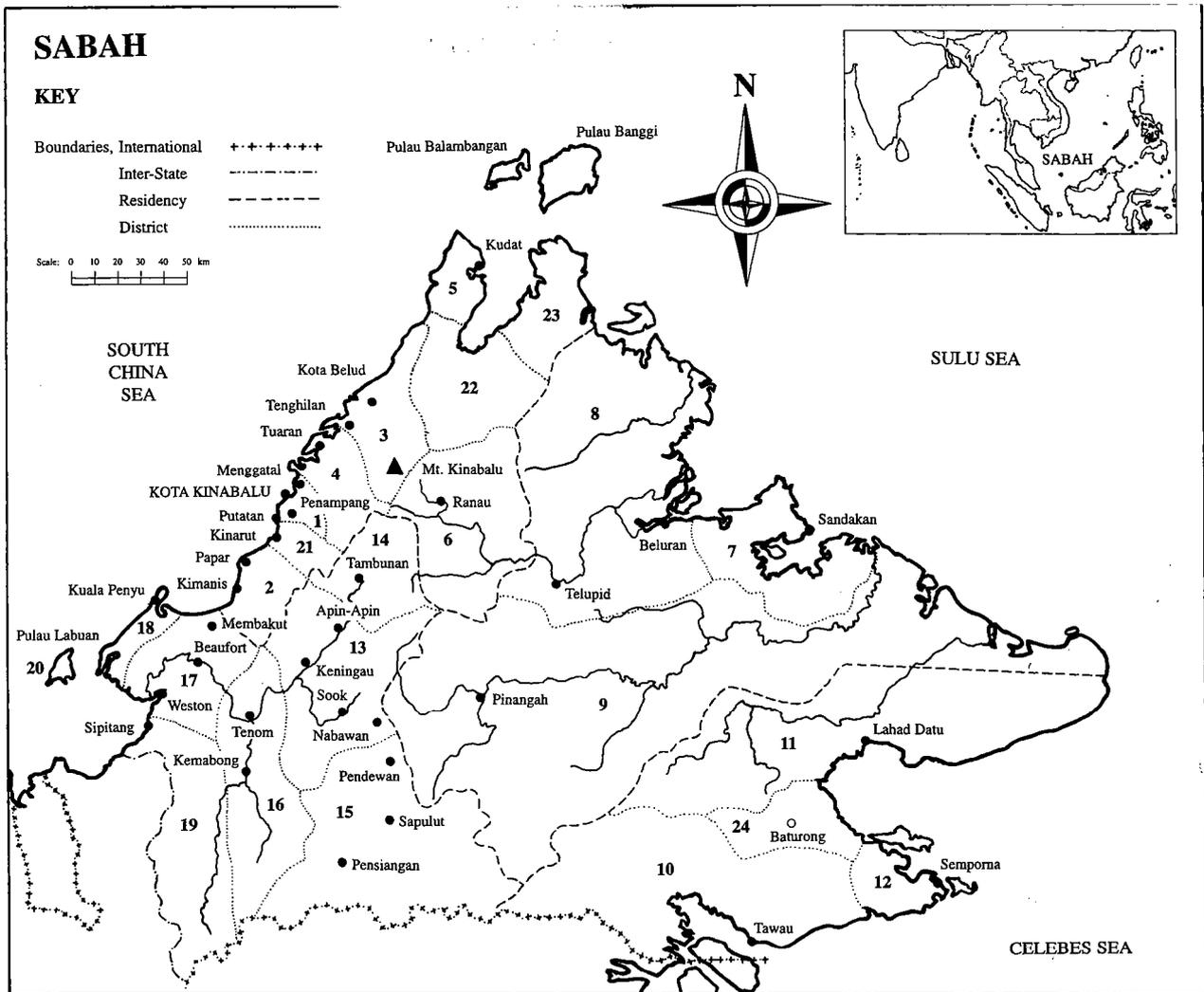
General

AC	Anglican Communion
ACC	Anglican Consultative Council
ASB	Alternative Service Book
BCP	Book of Common Prayer
CMS	Church Missionary Society
IALC	International Anglican Liturgical Consultation
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

Journal Publications

AJT	Asia Journal of Theology
BC	Borneo Chronicle
BNBH	British North Borneo Handbook
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
RE	Religious Education
SMJ	Sarawak Museum Journal
SSJ	Sabah Society Journal
IRM	International Review of Mission

Map 1: Sabah



NAMES OF DISTRICTS			
1.	KOTA KINABALU	9.	KINABATANGAN
2.	PAPAR	10.	TAWAU
3.	KOTA BELUD	11.	LAHAD DATU
4.	TUARAN	12.	SEMPORNA
5.	KUDAT	13.	KENINGAU
6.	RANAU	14.	TAMBUNAN
7.	SANDAKAN	15.	PENSIANGAN
8.	LABUK SUGUT	16.	TENOM
		17.	BEAUFORT
		18.	KUALA PENYU
		19.	SIPITANG
		20.	LABUAN
		21.	PENAMPANG
		22.	KOTA MARUDU
		23.	PITAS
		24.	KUNAK

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

In the preface of the *Buku Biru*¹ or *Peraturan Sembahyang Umum*, the revised Prayer Book for the Malay-speaking congregations in the Anglican Church of Sabah that was launched in 1974, the editor, Sylvia Jeanes² stated:

*Gereja Anglikan sebagai sebahagian gereja am sedunia telah menyimpan pernyataan-pernyataan iman dan penyembahan purba ini dengan menurunkannya dari satu generasi ke generasi yang lain, mulai dengan Buku Aturan Sembahyang Anglikan yang pertama diterbitkan pada tahun 1549 TM sampai sekarang. Pembaru-pembaru Inggeris seperti Thomas Kranmer menyedari betapa pentingnya liturgi mesti ditulis ke dalam bahasa orang awam. Menurut semangat yang sama, buku ini dituliskan ke dalam Bahasa Malaysia, bahasa kebangsaan kita.*³

It is undoubtedly the case that the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) is central to the Christian faith as practised by churches in the Anglican Communion. It is unique and seems to be irreplaceable as an assurance of orthodoxy, dignity and beauty in the Church's worship. Thus, the BCP has been translated and published in many forms or alternatives in churches inside and outside of the Anglican Communion in over 50 different countries and in over 200 different languages, including the Malay language.

This thesis is an attempt to investigate the impact of Anglicanism in the form of liturgical worship in the Anglican Church in Sabah, Malaysia in the light of the spirituality of the Kadazandusun. In the course of this study, the contributing factors of

¹ *Buku Biru* in the Malay language means 'Blue Book' – the indigenous peoples, including the Kadazandusun use the colour to distinguish the book instead of the title of the book, *Peraturan Sembahyang Umum* or Order of Public Worship. This could be due to the influence of their non-literate background. Sylvia Jeanes with the assistance of a secondary schoolteacher, Chua Chung Leng translated the book.

² Sylvia Jeanes, an Australian CMS missionary worked among the indigenous people in Kinabatangan in 1967 to 1979. Later she moved to Kota Kinabalu as the Director of the Diocesan Christian Education Department and pastored the Malay-speaking congregations in All Saints Cathedral and St Andrews Church, Tuaran. Upon completing her MA (in Theology) in Sydney, she began teaching in the Sabah Theological Seminary in 1988 until 2006 as a full time lecturer and continued as a part time lecturer until 2011. She was appointed as lay canon in 2003.

³ Translation: The Anglican Church which is a member of the universal Church has preserved all creeds and ancient liturgies for generations, beginning from the Book of Common Prayer that was published in 1549 until now. English reformers such as Thomas Cranmer realised the importance of writing liturgy in the vernacular. In the same spirit, this book is written in the Malay language, our national language.

Anglicanism to the liturgical worship⁴ of the Anglican Church of Sabah are analysed. Subsequently, the impact of Anglicanism on the spirituality of the indigenous peoples, particularly the Eastern Kadazandusun is evaluated with the intention of proposing ways for inculturating the liturgical worship in order for it to be relevant and effective.

The Anglican Church of Sabah has been affiliated to the Church of England since 1888. It was established as a result of the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This particular relationship was formed and developed in such a way that the people who became Christians through the Anglican Church often identified themselves as ‘Anglicans’ rather than Christians. This was the outcome of the distinctiveness of the Anglican Church, specifically its liturgical worship.

Anglicanism refers to the ‘faith, practice and spirit of Anglican churches that are affiliated to the Anglican Communion.’⁵ Anglicanism embraces the whole ethos of the Anglican Church that was initiated by the Church of England.⁶ The main focus of this research is the distinctive elements of Anglicanism revealed in the liturgy⁷ and order of worship based on the Book of Common Prayer (BCP), the foundational prayer book of Anglicanism.⁸ The aim of this research is to investigate how Anglicanism has contributed to the liturgical worship of the Anglican Church of Sabah and influenced the Christian spirituality of the indigenous people, especially the Kadazandusun.⁹

⁴The Sabah Anglican Church emphasises the importance of worship since worship comes from God and it is the church’s primary act of faith, an encounter of God and the church. ‘Worship is the experiential foundation of theological reflection.’ See Kavanagh 1984: 78.

⁵Sykes, Booty & Knight 1988: 405.

⁶‘The Anglican Church emerged within one particular cultural context: the British Isles in the late medieval period. Its distinct ethos was a result of an amalgam of the western Christian tradition with the insights of the Reformation.’ See Holeton 1990: 14.

⁷Liturgy is symbolic and functional. It needs to be done well in text and context. Perham 1993: 33-39.

⁸The Book of Common Prayer or Prayer Book: 1549 Book of Common Prayer followed the 1544 English liturgy and the 1548 Order of Communion. A new Vernacular liturgy, Cranmer’s Prayer Book was a replacement for its Latin equivalents, based substantially on the old Sarum rites but significantly Protestant – a characteristic strengthened in the 1552 Prayer Book, produced in response to demands from English and continental Reformers. The 1552 book was abolished by Queen Mary, was restored in 1559 by Queen Elizabeth with few but significant changes, resisted appeals for change from the Puritans, again slightly revised in 1604, and abolished in 1645. The Prayer Book enforced by the 1662 Act of Uniformity was essentially unchanged, though with some additions and many minor revisions. Other Prayer Books appeared as the Anglican Communion expanded, including the 1789 book of the Episcopal Church in the United States. See Sykes, Booty & Knight 1988: 449.

⁹In the past decades historians, theologians and liturgists of Anglicanism, including the bishops gathered in conference at Lambeth, have repeatedly appealed to the Book of Common Prayer as a prime source of

Following this, further aim of this study is to explore potential ways of developing an indigenous liturgical worship through the processes of liturgical inculturation.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In reviewing the liturgical worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah in the light of the spirituality of the Kadazandusun, three questions that are interrelated and that have influenced the creation of the Anglican Church of Sabah and the formation and, thus, shaping of the Kadazandusun Christian spirituality are considered.

First, what is Anglican liturgical worship? Anglican worship was introduced by the two mission organisations: the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) during the establishment of the Anglican Church of Sabah. Liturgy based on the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) is at the heart of the worship life of Anglican churches. It is considered an instrument of authority, identity and unity in the Anglican Communion. Thus, I wish to find the possible answers to this first question by examining the Anglican liturgical worship in order to comprehend its various characteristics. In addition, the strengths and limitations of Anglican liturgical worship are evaluated.

Second, in what ways has Anglican liturgical worship impacted the spirituality of the indigenous peoples, specifically the Kadazandusun in the Anglican Church of Sabah?¹⁰ This question can only be answered by analysing the forms, order and content of Anglican liturgical worship. The aim of this aspect of the study is to analyse the ways in which Anglican practice shaped the life of worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah and the ways in which that life of worship shaped and changed the spirituality of the indigenous peoples, especially the Kadazandusun on the East coast of Sabah. During this research, the strengths and limitations of the Western-oriented approaches implemented by the pioneering missionaries in imparting the gospel or Christian faith, use of the Bible, church doctrines and practices founded upon the BCP among the

unity for the Communion. But Lambeth 1978 shifted the weight of appeal from the Book of Common Prayer to the 'spirit' of the Book of Common Prayer, giving a definite approval to some of the creative forms of liturgical expression, which were beginning to emerge in some Provinces. See Holeton 1990: 6.

¹⁰'Christians are formed by what they say and do in the liturgy. The way we conceive of God, the way we understand the nature of Christian community and the manner in which we engage the world are all shaped by our common liturgical life.' Holeton 1990: 6.

Kadazandusun need to be assessed. The impact of the missionaries' Eurocentric understanding of culture that has challenged and undermined the religio-cultural beliefs and practices of the Kadazandusun and subsequently, affected their understanding of the gospel as a new community affiliated to the Anglican Church and to the universal Church is investigated.

Third, what ways are there of inculturating liturgical worship in order for it to be meaningful and relevant to the Kadazandusun spirituality? In the York Statement 1989, it was declared 'that liturgy to serve the contemporary church should be truly inculturated'.¹¹ This declaration confirmed the importance of inculturating the liturgy for it to be truly relevant to the contemporary cultural context. To answer this third question, the BCP that was first composed by Thomas Cranmer in 1549, revised in 1552, amended and published in 1559 and recognised as the official book of the Church of England in 1662¹² as well as by other Anglican churches affiliated with the Church of England is examined. In 1980 the Alternative Service Book (ASB), based on the BCP, was accepted as common service book for Anglican churches.¹³ The BCP is significant for the Anglican Church since it 'portrays the characteristics of Anglicanism or the Anglican spirituality.'¹⁴ It is then the objective of this research not only to assess the significance of the BCP to the worship of the Anglican Church but also its relevance to the spirituality of the Kadazandusun. During this process of inquiry, converging and diverging factors that have either instigated or hindered inculturation of the Anglican liturgical worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah are identified. Ultimately, it is my goal to explore and propose potential means to inculturate the liturgical worship of the Anglican Church of Sabah that can contribute to the spirituality of the Kadazandusun by examining how far has Anglicanism captured and expressed the authentic spirituality of the Christian gospel as revealed in the New Testament to the Kadazandusun.

¹¹Ibid., 8.

¹² See The BCP Story – Celebrating 350 years of the Book of Common Prayer (1662-2012) www.bcp350.org.uk/story.php

¹³In England in 1927 there was a revision in response to the developments that had begun in the late nineteenth century, to include, for example, reservation of the sacrament. This was perceived by Parliament as an attempt to shift the doctrinal emphases of the Church of England and was rejected. Although revised Prayer Books have been introduced in various Provinces, no further revisions to the 1662 Prayer Book have been authorised in England, and it remains the official service book, the work produced in 1980 being strictly therefore an Alternative Service Book. See Sykes et al., 1988: 449)

¹⁴Ibid., 315.

As a member of the Anglican Communion, Anglican liturgy plays a very important role in the worship life of the Anglican Church of Sabah since it is an important aspect of the Anglican tradition. It is regarded as a means for the community to come together and worship God. For this reason, liturgy should be able to embrace a wide range of people present in its celebration. However, in spite of the fact that the Anglican liturgies succeeded in unifying Anglican churches in different regions across the globe affiliated with the Anglican Communion, its relevance and effectiveness have often been questioned by Anglican churches in other contexts, particularly in Africa and Asia. It may simply be that the Anglican liturgy is foreign to people from different cultural starting points and is comprehended from the English or Western context. It may be even irrelevant and ineffective for the present day. To address these questions in the context of the Anglican Church of Sabah, it is essential to formulate ‘cause and effect’ types of questions to facilitate the answers which may bring transformation to the traditional liturgical worship¹⁵ of the Anglican Church of Sabah and be more effective in the nurture of Christian spirituality of the Kadazandusun.

3. RESEARCH STATEMENT/HYPOTHESIS

The main thesis of this research is that the Anglican Church of Sabah particularly in its liturgical worship has successfully embraced Anglicanism, which was embodied by the SPG and CMS missionaries with the introduction of the gospel. In retrospect, it is evident that the missionaries succeeded in evangelizing the indigenous people by transforming them from animists to Anglican Christians. But they failed to develop an indigenous liturgical worship and this failure has affected the spirituality of the Anglican Church members as indigenous Christians. This is due to their Western-oriented approaches and Eurocentric understanding of culture, implying their lack of understanding of the local culture and insensitivity towards the receiving culture. For this reason, the impact of Anglicanism in the form of liturgical worship on the spirituality of the indigenous people of Sabah is investigated. The outcome of this

¹⁵ The Book of Common Prayer sets an ordered form of Morning and Evening Prayer, with an official lectionary, and a monthly recital of the Psalms. It also gives the official form of Holy Communion or Eucharist, which remains unchanged throughout except for variety in the Collects, Epistles and Gospels. Thus the Anglican worship is liturgical and the various provinces of the Anglican Communion are united in common liturgical practice.

research is intended to challenge and inspire the Anglican Church of Sabah to formulate its own indigenous Anglican liturgical worship¹⁶ pertinent to its context.

4. PURPOSE

The purpose of this research is to examine the influence of Anglicanism in the form of the liturgical worship to the Anglican Church of Sabah in the light of the spirituality of the Kadazandusun. Three important but related questions that surface out of this research topic have been stated. They are intended to define some implications for a more inculturated Anglican worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah that can be relevant to its context and possibly effective in fostering the Christian spirituality of the Kadazandusun. Thus, this research focuses on the delineation of the significant factors that led to the establishment of the Anglican Church of Sabah and the implementation of its ecclesiastical structure that have contributed to the liturgical worship of the church and influenced the spirituality of the Kadazandusun. Ultimately, the goal of this research is to propose approaches for inculturating an indigenous Anglican liturgical worship in the Sabah context that will deepen the worship life of the church and reflect the needs and hopes of the Kadazandusun in which their beliefs and values are embodied and expressed.

A number of key questions are taken into consideration in refining and defining the objectives above. What and who were involved in the process of the establishment of the Anglican Church of Sabah? What are the implications of the Anglican ecclesiastical structure derived from the Church of England on the local Anglican Church? What was the reaction and response of the Kadazandusun to Anglicanism, specifically to the Anglican liturgical worship resulting from the BCP? What was the key issue involved in the implementation of the Anglican liturgical worship? Why and how can an indigenous Anglican liturgical worship be inculturated? What will be its implications for the spirituality of the indigenous people, specifically the Kadazandusun? The answers to these questions will definitely facilitate the conclusions drawn from this research.

¹⁶ The Anglican churches in Africa has taken up the challenge of Lambeth 1988 and published 'Anglican Liturgical Inculturation' See Gitari 1994.

5. SCOPE

The scope of this thesis is limited to the Malay-speaking congregations in the Anglican Church of Sabah, Malaysia representing the indigenous people.¹⁷ They are part of a wider multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-lingual society. This arises since the Anglican Church of Sabah is represented by three main language groups: the Chinese-speaking group predominantly Hakka; the English-speaking group consisting of Chinese, Indians and other ethnic groups, mainly, English-educated professionals; and the Malay-speaking group consisting of different indigenous ethnic groups in Sabah, such as the Kadazandusun, Murut and Rungus including Iban from Sarawak and Toraja and Manado from Indonesia. These various ethnic communities that represent the Malay-speaking congregations speak different dialects and languages and therefore use the Malay language, the national language of Malaysia, as a medium of instruction, communication and worship. Due to inter-marriages among the various ethnic communities and the emphasis of the Malay language in schools, most second generation Christians are more conversant in the Malay language than in their own languages. This phenomenon brings a different dynamic to the worship of the church.

In this research, the impact of Anglicanism in the form of liturgical worship of the Anglican Church of Sabah is examined but the main focus is on the Malay-speaking group consisting primarily of the indigenous people in the eastern part of the state of Sabah. They are the Kadazandusun in Labuk; Kadazandusun (also known as Orang Sungai) in Kinabatangan; and the Kadazandusun in Segama, Lahad Datu. Although the three ethnic communities are recognised as ‘Kadazandusun’, each ethnic group is distinctive from the other not only in terms of the languages or dialects spoken, but also in their cultures. These three ethnic communities became Christians as the result of the work of the SPG and CMS missionaries in the late 1950s through evangelism, education and medical work. They were often called ‘people of the mission’ in the early years of the Anglican Church of Sabah because of their new affiliation with the church and new identity as Christians.

¹⁷ In West Malaysia, the indigenous people are called *Orang Asli*, while in Sabah their distinctive ethnic communities identify the indigenous peoples. See appendix IV showing the languages of Sabah according to different language families.

6. METHODOLOGY

This research is designed using anthropological and historical approaches, with the aim of acquiring an in-depth understanding of the religio-cultural beliefs and practices of the indigenous peoples¹⁸, the historical background and the ecclesiastical changes made by the Anglican Church in Sabah for missiological ends. However, it is important to acknowledge that this is not an anthropological or ethnographic piece of research. The findings are therefore not based on ‘statistical procedures or other means of qualifications’¹⁹ even though research methods such as qualitative interviews and questionnaires are implemented. These anthropological research methods are implemented for the purpose of collecting primary data since this study involves the understanding and interpretation of culture.²⁰ The significance of this data, gathered through a substantial amount of qualitative interviewing,²¹ specifically in issues related to the religio-cultural background of the Kadazandusun and the historical background of the Anglican Church, aims to enhance my understanding of the indigenous peoples of Sabah by listening to their untold stories, analysing and interpreting their responses to Christianity, especially in the context of Anglican worship.²²

Along with these approaches, there is the key factor that the researcher in her personal context is a significant insider, which provides a strong additional series of insights for this project.²³

As stated and discussed in section 2 of this chapter, the three research questions of this thesis are:

1. What is Anglican liturgical worship?
2. In what ways has Anglican liturgical worship impacted the spirituality of the indigenous peoples, specifically the Kadazandusun in the Anglican Church of Sabah?

¹⁸ This can be perceived as the scientific study of human behavior. See Punch, K. F., *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*, London: Sage, 1998: 9.

¹⁹ Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. M., *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, Newbury Park, CA, 1990: 17-18.

²⁰ Geertz, C. (1973), *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books.

²¹ Bryman, A. *Social Research Methods* (3rd edn.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008: 369.

²² Avison, Lau, Myers and Nielson, 1999.

²³ Sterk-Elifson, 1993: 163.

3. What ways are there of inculturating liturgical worship in order for it to be relevant to the Kadazandusun and effective for their spirituality?

These three questions are interrelated and their main focus is on the Anglican worship of the Malay-speaking congregations in Sabah. Reflecting on these research questions, it becomes clear that the goal of this thesis is to propose ways to inculturate the Anglican worship in Sabah for the benefit of the spiritual growth of the Kadazandusun. In the light of this, it is essential to conduct survey in the form of interviews and questionnaire for the purpose of examining, analysing and interpreting significant themes that arise as a result of the encounter of Christianity in the form of Anglicanism and the spirituality of the Kadazandusun – two different historical, cultural and religious traditions, demonstrated in chapters 6 and 8. Thus, the analysis of the responses of the participants is intended to generate adequate interpretation of their perceptions concerning the relationship between Christianity in the form of Anglicanism and Kadazandusun spirituality.

To respond to the three research questions in section 2 and to test the researcher's hypothesis indicated in section 3 of this chapter, four research methods, including the two research methods introduced above are employed.

Firstly, interviews and questionnaires [See Appendix I (a, b & c)] were conducted to survey how the Kadazandusun ethnic communities in the Eastern part of Sabah perceived Christianity in the form of Anglicanism and how it challenged their spirituality, which embraced their religio-cultural beliefs and practices and social life. By conducting the survey in the forms of interviews and questionnaires, it was the aim of this research to discover some implications of Christianity for the spirituality of the Kadazandusun, particularly from Kadazandusun perspectives by listening, analysing and interpreting their untold stories and reflections.

The survey was designed with the intention of investigating and analysing the responses and perspectives of the Kadazandusun to the missionaries' Eurocentric perceptions of their spirituality by engaging Western-oriented approaches in imparting the Christian faith. In the process of collecting primary data, both clergy and lay people, including women in the Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama areas – the first three mission stations were involved. In addition, youth across the diocese were included in

the survey in order to get their perspectives in assessing the relevance of the current Anglican worship.²⁴

By conducting the survey, the researcher studied, interpreted and addressed significant themes in the course of analysing the encounter between Christianity and the Kadazandusun religio-cultural background discussed in chapter 6 and the Anglican worship and the Kadazandusun's spirituality in chapter 8. This was to propose ways of inculturating the Anglican worship in the context of the Anglican Diocese of Sabah in chapter nine.

Second, historical research is employed for the purpose of reviewing, examining and interpreting the events with the intent of examining historical accounts²⁵ related to the establishment and ecclesiastical expansion of the Anglican Church in Sabah, known as the Anglican Diocese of Sabah, specifically in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Using the historical research method, especially in chapter 4, historical data based on chronicles, diaries, letters, minutes of meetings and journals were gathered and analysed. They were retrieved from archival records in Rhodes House, Oxford and in the Sabah Archives and Museum in Kota Kinabalu besides conducting interviews with first generation indigenous Christians and former lay missionaries who worked among indigenous peoples in the rural areas of Sabah. Engaging with the early Christians and former missionaries in oral history²⁶ enhanced the findings of this research due to the fact that most surviving historical materials were written from the perspectives of missionary bishops and priests or from mission sources with the aim of providing information to the mission organisations and to raise funds for mission works abroad.

By employing a historical approach, it was not my intention to merely accumulate historical primary data but essentially to place the important features and events related to the formation and progress of the Anglican Church associated with its ecclesiastical

²⁴ See Appendix I (c): Questionnaire for Anglican youth

²⁵ Definition and purpose of historical research is discussed in Berg, B. L., *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Science* (7th edn.), Boston, Allyn & Racon, 2009: 296-312. See also Denzin, N. K., *The research Act*, Chicago, Aldine.

²⁶ Oral history is a method of 'collecting and interpret human memories to foster knowledge and human dignity.' See The Oral History Association (2011).

structure and doctrines²⁷ by interpreting the significant periods of its development linked to political changes that had influenced the ecclesial changes and ecclesiastical structure. It was therefore not simply the retelling of facts historically but ‘attempts to systematically recapture the complex nuances, the people, meanings, events, even ideas of the past that have influenced and shaped the present.’²⁸

Third, analytical liturgical study was employed to examine the characteristics of the Anglican worship as reflected in the Prayer book in chapter seven and the religio-cultural beliefs and practices of the Kadazandusun in chapter four. This study was to identify some converging points that could be implemented in the process of inculturating the Anglican worship. By employing this research method, ways of inculturating worship for the fostering of the Christian spirituality of the indigenous peoples in the Anglican Church of Sabah were considered. It was also the intention of this research to open avenues for other indigenous churches in Sabah and beyond to re-examine their worship and to be challenged to implement inculturation.

Fourth, my personal context is as an indigenous woman coming from the Kadazandusun ethnic community in Segama, Lahad Datu – growing up and living in the cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national and religious context. Although I have not lived in Lahad Datu since 1987, I continue to make constant visits and contacts with my family, relatives and ethnic community as well as members of the Anglican Church. Moreover, I am involved in various ministries among the Malay-speaking congregations in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah and in other indigenous churches in Malaysia. I believe my personal context as a member of the Kadazandusun ethnic community, a first generation Christian, an indigenous theological educator teaching in an ecumenical setting seminary, and ministering among the indigenous peoples in Sabah since 1991 can be considered as the criteria to qualify me as a significant insider in this research.²⁹

²⁷ Articles I to V of the Thirty-nine Articles deal with the doctrine of God and His self-revelation, Articles VI to VIII deal with the supremacy of Scripture over ecclesiastical traditions, Articles IX to XVIII deal with the doctrine of salvation, Articles XIX to XXIV deal with the Church, its nature, its institution, and its function, Articles XXV to XXXI deal with the Sacraments, and Articles XXXII to XXXIX deal with the organization of the Church in the State and its relation to the State. See ARTICLES (Agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of Both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation Holden at London in 1962).

²⁸ Berg, B. L., *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (7th edn.), 2009: 297.

²⁹ See Ganga, D. and Scott, S., (2006), Cultural ‘Insiders’ and the Issue of Positionality in Qualitative Migration Research: Moving ‘Across’ and moving ‘Along’ Researcher-Participant Divides. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 7 (3) Article 7.

Furthermore, both of my parents became Christians in the early 1960s through my eldest brother who studied in St. Stephen's Mission School. We were baptised as a family after fulfilling all requirements of becoming members of the Anglican Church. Based on my parents' commitment and involvement in various ministries in the church, they were appointed elders in St Stephen's Church until the late 1970s. Like my brother and my other siblings, I received my primary school education in St. Stephens's School in the 1970s, became a lay-reader in the 1980s and later completed my theological education and became a theological educator in the Sabah Theological Seminary and also a pastoral staff member in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah from 1991.

In addition, I am also responsible to the study of the culture of the indigenous peoples and recognise that my perspectives and reflections definitely influence the knowledge acquired in the process of doing this research. Thus, I engaged early Christian converts, former students of the mission schools and present members of the Anglican Diocese of Sabah as well as pioneering missionaries in this research in order to avoid an ethnocentric bias for the sake of maintaining objectivity.³⁰ As a matter of fact, my conversations with them, particularly with three pioneering missionaries helped me to confront my personal assumptions and cultural biases.

As a significant insider, I also regard my role as an advocate for the indigenous peoples by giving them 'voices' in telling their stories in relation with the Anglican mission from their perspectives. It is my aspiration that the indigenous peoples' spirituality which encompassed rituals and social norms can be documented, further examined and interpreted in order to develop a dialectical conversation with the gospel for the purpose of inculturation, particularly liturgical inculturation.

As an insider, I speak the language of the Kadazandusun in Segama and am quite conversant with the various dialects and languages of the Kadazandusun in Labuk and Kinabatangan.³¹ This advantage gives me opportunities to communicate and conduct oral history research through accidental conversations with the non-literate indigenous

³⁰ Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. E. (eds.). (1986), *Writing Culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*, p. 2. See also Shuter, R., 'The culture of rhetoric' in Gonzalez, A. & Tanno, D. V. (eds.), (2000), *Rhetoric Intercultural Contexts*. Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications, p. 11.

³¹ See appendix ... 'Languages of Sabah' compiled by the Sabah Institute of Linguistic Studies (SIL) in Sabah.

people in the rural areas. I am also familiar with the narratives of the Kadazandusun in Segama as I grew up listening to such narratives from my parents and relatives in the community. Although the narratives of the Kadazandusun in Labuk, Kinabatangan and Segama vary from one another they do share some common themes as discussed in chapter three. In addition, as a member of the Kadazandusun ethnic community has helped me to know and understand the contexts from which the religio-cultural narratives result and their implicit messages.

Based on my role as an insider, I have the advantage of recruiting informants and accessing data from insiders in the Kadazandusun community, who trust me and are supportive of my role as a diocesan pastoral staff member and an indigenous theological educator. For this reason, I was able to recruit participants, individuals including women and youths for focus groups, interviews and conversations.

However, as an indigenous and non-ordained woman insider, I did face some challenges especially in recruiting informants for interviews from certain individuals and a group who preferred not to be involved in the research or even ignored my e-mails and phone calls due to personal and other reasons. Reflecting on the lack of response from these individuals and group, I realised that it has something to do with my role as a suspicious insider in a culture that segregates social activities along gender lines.

As a significant insider, I have the opportunity of contributing my personal perspectives and theological reflections based on my own personal experience as an indigenous person and theological educator in this research. I am aware that as an insider with emic perspectives, I have my personal biases and cultural judgments. But I am aware of the need to be objective with my perspectives and reflections.³² Thus, as an insider, I often had to remind myself to be neutral and curious about the religio-cultural background of the indigenous peoples in order to dismiss preconceived ideas and not to take for granted my knowledge and personal experience of the culture as well as concerns about any negative values due to the tendency of being biased in favour of my own culture. Thus, I tried to listen to a broader spectrum of voices from members of the Malay-speaking congregations in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah, former missionaries who

³² See Headland, N. T., Pike, K., and Harris, M. (eds.), (1990), *Etics and Emics: The Insider/Outsider Debate*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

ministered among the indigenous peoples in Labuk, Kinabatangan and Segama, colleagues in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah and the Sabah Theological seminaries.

In the course of this research, I also gained new insights and perspectives from other theological educators coming from different contexts during seminars and lectures held in OCMS and during my participation in theological consultations and conferences in different contexts.³³

7. RATIONALE FOR THE RESEARCH

As stated earlier, liturgical worship is a distinctive element in the Anglican Church worldwide. However, due to the diverse contexts of the Anglican churches, many attempts have been made for the liturgy to be examined and revised or inculturated. In 1983 there was formed The International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALCs),³⁴ a gathering of Anglican liturgical scholars and liturgists who realised the need to meet and discuss matters of mutual concern for liturgical life.³⁵ In 1987, the Anglican Liturgical Consultation's main agenda was the role of liturgy in the life of the people of

³³ For instance, I had the privilege of attending and presenting papers in various theological consultations and conferences during the course of my research: 'Christian Theology and Traditional Religions and Cultures' on 29 January to 7 February 2010, San Jose, Costa Rica organised by Mission 21, Switzerland; 'Affirming Spiritualities of Life: Indigenous Peoples Wisdom and Traditions in Theological Conversation on 22 to 28 January 2011, La Paz, Bolivia, organised by World Council of Churches (WCC); 'Theology of Healing: Healing the Wounds' – from an indigenous woman's perspective on 8 to 12 July 2010 in Tirana, Albania, organized by WCC; 'World Council of Churches Diakonia Drafting Group Meeting' – as a preparation for WCC Diakonia Conference in Colombo, Sri Lanka on 2 to 6 June 2012 in Oslo, Norway and 'Global Anglican Theological Academy' on 26 to 30 March 2012 in Canterbury, Kent, UK. In addition, I also had the opportunity to test my proposals and arguments on 'Religion and Life in Sabah' in various congregations and mission groups in Switzerland upon the invitation of Mission 21 in 2009 to 2011. During my fieldwork and teaching assignments in Sabah in 2009 - 2012, I also had the chance to speak in different seminars and conferences organised by the Anglican Diocese of Sabah, the Sabah Theological Seminary and other indigenous churches.

³⁴ The International Anglican Liturgical Consultations are important components in the contemporary liturgical life of the Anglican Communion. These consultations are the forum in which the various changes in the different provinces of the Anglican Communion are compared, discussed and critiqued in view of the Communion's common principles.

³⁵ The International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALCs) is the official network for liturgy in the Anglican Communion (AC), recognized by the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC) and the Primates Meeting.

God. Subsequently, the need for the inculturation of the liturgy was recognised by the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC) at its meeting in Singapore in 1987 and presented to the Lambeth Conference in 1988. There was an awareness of the need for inculturation of the Anglican liturgy particularly in provinces in different contexts around the world that are affiliated to the Anglican Communion. Consequently, two significant resolutions concerning the importance of Christ and culture and the necessity of contextualizing the gospel and its expressions were made, namely Resolution 22 and Resolution 47.³⁶

Considering this development within the Anglican Communion (AC) and the need for an inculturated liturgical worship, it is appropriate for the Anglican Church of Sabah to respond to the challenge of inculturation due to its unique cultural and religious context. As part of the AC, and yet from an Asian and indigenous context, there is a need to study how Anglicanism, imparted through the Anglican liturgical worship, contributed to the spirituality of the indigenous people. In the course of this research I anticipate that my findings will be a significant contribution to the Anglican Church in Sabah and to the AC.

8. SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTERS

There are 9 chapters in this thesis. Chapter 1 introduces the research while chapter 2 discusses the concept of both inculturation and contextualization and their implications for worship. The chapter is intended to provide the foundation for the subsequent examination of the challenges and consequences of employing both inculturation and contextualization as essential approaches to worship.

Chapter 3 is a study of the religious and cultural background of the indigenous peoples of Sabah, particularly the Eastern Kadazandusun for the purpose of setting the context of the thesis. Further, the chapter investigates how the clash between the religio-cultural worldviews of the Western missionaries and the Kadazandusun has hindered liturgical inculturation.

³⁶ Resolutions 22 and 47 were published in 'The Truth Shall Make You Free', The Lambeth Conference 1988: The Reports, Resolutions and Pastoral Letters from the Bishops (ACC, 1989).

Chapter 4 traces the historical development of the Anglican Church of Sabah and assesses significant events that have influenced the church. It is designed to assist the examination of the impact of Anglicanism in the form of liturgical worship in the light of the spirituality of the Kadazandusun.

Chapter 5 presents the research findings based on the survey conducted with members of the Malay-speaking congregations with two main objectives. First, it is to investigate how Christianity in the form of Anglicanism has challenged and influenced the specific religio-cultural background of the Kadazandusun and its subsequent implications for the understanding of the gospel. Second, it is to assess the reactions or responses of the Malay-speaking congregations in general to the Anglican worship and its impact on their spirituality.

Chapter 6 examines the encounter between the Kadazandusun's religio-cultural beliefs and Christianity as conveyed by the SPG and CMS missionaries during the pioneering phase of the Anglican mission. In analysing how these two distinctive religious and cultural backgrounds interact with one another, some converging and diverging religious features are identified. Subsequently, these provide insight into the positive aspects of spirituality that were or were not acknowledged by the missionaries.

Chapter 7 reviews the definition of Anglicanism and the uniqueness of the Anglican worship by looking at its main characteristics. This chapter is an attempt to compare Anglicanism in its English expression with the way in which it has developed in Sabah.

Chapter 8 is a critique of the encounter between Anglican worship and Kadazandusun spirituality. The purpose of this chapter is to consider and identify the factors that contribute or hinder the implementation of inculturation in Anglican worship in Sabah.

Chapter 9 considers ways to deepen inculturation in the Anglican Church of Sabah with the intention of making its worship relevant and effective for the spirituality of the indigenous peoples and as a Christian witness to the wider Malaysian society.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. INTRODUCTION

The terms ‘inculturation’ and ‘contextualization’ are closely associated with the relationship of the gospel and culture, a crucial question for Christian theology and mission in the twenty-first century.¹ Christian theologians and missiologists employ inculturation and contextualization as important tools to assess and to reflect critically the implications of communicating the gospel cross-culturally, particularly in non-Eurocentric contexts since the 1970s.

In this chapter I review the literature on inculturation, contextualization and liturgical inculturation as a basis for constructing a theoretical framework for the Anglican worship in Sabah. By examining the implications of inculturation and contextualization, I will consider how liturgical inculturation is an important approach for making Christian worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah to make it more relevant, connecting² and engaging³ for the indigenous peoples, specifically the Kadazandusun.

2. INCULTURATION

The term ‘inculturation’ is used in both sociological and theological environments.⁴ In a sociological context, it coexists with terms such as acculturation, transculturation and enculturation.⁵ Generally, these terms imply the interaction of cultures.⁶ For instance,

¹ This was emphasised during Edinburgh 2010.

² Is the Anglican worship in Sabah connecting the faith community with every aspect of their lives or is it as an escapism from the rest of life? See Earey, M. and Tovey, P. *Liturgical Formation and Common Worship*, (2009): 20.

³ Engaged in worship means ‘when every part of our being, body, mind and spirit, is taken up with what we are doing.’ Earey, M. and Tovey, P. *Liturgical Formation and Common Worship*, (2009): 23.

⁴ See Dharvamony, (1997): 89 and Bretzke, (1991): 3.

⁵ Inculturation is associated with indigenization, incarnation and contextualization in African context. See Healey, ‘Inculturation of Liturgy and Worship in Africa’, *Worship* 60 (5), 412.

⁶ See Schreiter’s discussion on the different terms used to construe faith and cultures in ‘Faith and Cultures: Challenges to a World Church,’ *Theological Studies* 50 (1989): 745-748.

the term ‘acculturation’⁷ signifies the meeting of cultures and the change it generates and the outcome is always cultural change, while the term ‘transculturation’ discusses the set of elements present in all cultures or the ethnocentric and unidirectional transfer of some elements from one culture to another. Enculturation denotes the process, that is, when and where an individual learns the prerequisites of a culture that has evolved from generation to generation. It is a process of socialization.⁸ The term ‘inculturation’ is often confused with these sociological terms because it has been used in the fields of anthropology and sociology beginning from the early twentieth century.

Inculturation is also a term applied in Christianity. It is defined as a process of incarnating the gospel in a particular cultural context. It is a *neologism*, a word invented by theologians engaging in the field of faith and culture.⁹ In the light of this, inculturation is often examined from a sociological perspective and understood as a theological neologism.¹⁰ On one hand, inculturation is often regarded as the adaptation of Christian doctrines or teachings presented to other religio-cultures but on the other hand, it also reflects critically on the impact of those given cultures in the development of Christian doctrines.¹¹ However, Gerald Arbuckle disputes the term ‘adaptation’ stating:

Historically, theologically and anthropologically the expression ‘adaptation’ has paternalistic, even inaccurate, connotations. The word is so trapped within these connotations that it needs to be dropped from liturgical and theological vocabularies.¹²

Arbuckle’s statement affirms that inculturation has to be understood as dialectical encounter between Christianity and culture or cultures, demonstrating a dialogue between the gospel and culture for mission. It includes the dynamics involved during the encounter between people from other religio-cultural backgrounds and Christianity. It is a

⁷ Some claim that etymologically, the term ‘inculturation’ is the combination of the sociological term ‘acculturation’ and theological term ‘incarnation’. See Magesa, L., *Anatomy of Inculturation: Transforming the Church in Africa*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 2004.

⁸ See definition of terms: indigenization, incarnation, contextualization, revision, adaptation, inculturation, and acculturation in Chupungco 1992: 13-28. See also Shorter 1988: 5.

⁹ See Shorter, A., *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, Maryknoll: Orbis, (1998): 10, Crollius, A. R., ‘What is so New about Inculturation? A Concept and its Implications,’ *Gregorianum*, 59, (1978): 721-738.

¹⁰ Shorter, (1988): 5-7 and Crollius, (1978): 723-724.

¹¹ Shorter, (1988): 5-7.

¹² Arbuckle, G. A. ‘Inculturation Not Adaptation: Time to Change Terminology,’ *Worship* Vol. 60 No. 1 (1986): 511-520.

dynamic interaction between church and culture or Christian faith and culture¹³ for the purpose of facilitating people of a particular culture to live, articulate, celebrate, formulate and communicate their Christian faith and life stories. Thus, interaction, dialogue or encounter between Christian faith and culture or cultures can be reflected as the basis of inculturation. Inculturation is an on-going process that is dynamic and not static with the intention of allowing the receiving people to experience and witness authentic Christian life in their own context.

Owing to the fact that inculturation is the encounter or dialogue between Christianity and a particular culture in a particular context, its process empowers the receiving people to participate fully in the life and mission of the church, to communicate life and truth in their social and cultural environment rather than simply being affiliated to the church. It is therefore the integration of Christianity into the lives of the receiving people rather than the importation and imposition of Christianity upon their culture. It is neither the suppression of a culture as an exchange for Christianity or the imperialism of a foreign culture upon a particular culture.¹⁴ It is not a means to substitute the local culture with the Christian faith.¹⁵ Unfortunately, this was how the gospel was often presented in the past.¹⁶ As a result, Christianity was portrayed as a foreign or Western religion and associated with colonialism.¹⁷ Different inculturation theories or models proposed by theologians from various church traditions will be discussed in this chapter to provide a deeper understanding of the concept and the implications of inculturation for the mission and life of the church.

Theologically, the term ‘inculturation’ has been closely connected to the theological missionary work of the Jesuits. The term was first introduced in 1962 and became more popular in the 1970s when it was cited in the 32nd General Congregation

¹³ Paul Tillich states, ‘religion is the substance of culture and culture is the form of religion’ quoted from Francis, M. (2000): 20.

¹⁴ See Donovan, V. J., *Christianity Rediscovered*, London, SCM Press, (2001): 66 and Shorter, A. *Towards a Theology of Inculturation*, (1988).

¹⁵ Yuen, M. ‘Doing Local Theologies in the Asian Context – Implications of Inculturation since the Second Vatican Council,’ in *Journal of Catholic Studies* Vol. 1 (2010): 155.

¹⁶ Unfortunately, this was the experience of the early Christians in Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama.

¹⁷ In the early 1960s, the indigenous peoples in Sabah frequently referred Christianity as ‘*mison no Kulo’og*’ or *no’ Taputih sirari*’ or ‘mission of the White people’. Based on my observation and responses from the interviews, some elderly people still use these terms to refer to Christianity.

of the Society of Jesus.¹⁸ Its subsequent appearance was in the Jesuit General Pedro Arrupe's letter to the Society¹⁹, and Jaime Cardinal Sin at the 1979 Roman Synod.²⁰ It is now widely used in the Roman Catholic Church²¹ as well as in other church traditions.

In this section I examine definitions and interpretations of inculturation by different theologians, missionaries and Christian anthropologists that offer insights into the extensive interactions between Christianity and culture or cultures. By employing inculturation, Christian doctrines and practices can be made meaningful and relevant to any given culture although its processes can be complex and challenging due to variances in historical and sociological contexts.²²

Examining the history of Christian mission, the notion of inculturation is not new. In fact, it has been implicitly presented in the practices of seventeenth century Jesuits like Matteo Ricci and Roberto de Nobili.²³ However, according to Bevans and Schroeder, the significance of 'inculturation in today's understanding of mission has emerged only when theology and spirituality began to recognise the essential role of experience in any kind of human living.'²⁴

Furthermore, in the inculturation process, both Christianity and the culture are affected and its outcome depends on the dynamics of the interaction. Let us then survey the notion and interpretation of various theologians, missionaries and Christian anthropologists on the concept and interpretation of inculturation.

¹⁸ Crollius, (1978): 722.

¹⁹ Letter to the Society of Jesus 1978.

²⁰ Schreiter, R., 'Faith and Cultures: Challenges to a World Church' in *Theological Studies* 50 (1989): 747. See also Schineller, P.,

²¹ The term 'inculturation' first appeared in a papal document in John Paul II's *Catechesis Tradendae* 1979. See Shorter, (1998): 10, Singh & Farr 2008: 42.

²² This refers to the shift from the Judaic to the Hellenistic world, to other dominant cultures such as the Roman, Germanic and medieval cultures, and consequently to non-western cultures due to the encounter between Christianity and other cultures.

²³ Bevans & Schroeder 2001: 69. See also Gorringer, T. J. *Furthering Humanity: A Theology of Culture*, (2004): 199-200.

²⁴ Bevans & Schroeder 2001: 69.

Michael Amaladoss claims that transformation through incarnation is the way of inculturation through the encounter between the gospel and culture.²⁵ For him, the objective of the encounter between the gospel and culture is to change a particular culture through conversion. This implies that inculturation happens when the gospel is incarnated in the culture of the receiving people that enables them to understand the Christian message in their own context, and subsequently, begin to develop their own ways of expressing those truths by inculturating the rites, symbols and practices implemented earlier by pioneering missionaries and assimilated by them for years. Through the inculturation process, the church's worship reflects the Christian message that is integrated and not merely adapted in the cultural expression of the people. Thus, the receiving people are able to express their Christian faith in worship that is meaningful, dynamic, connecting, engaging, and nurturing to them spiritually. Ultimately, they experience authentic Christian worship – ‘ an epiphany of God.’²⁶

Peter Schineller declares that inculturation of the gospel message is a given, not an option. He asserts that it is therefore imperative for all churches and church leaders to implement inculturation²⁷ in order for the church to witness to Christ and to make the Christian message significant, thriving and pertinent. However, he also acknowledges that inculturation is a difficult and delicate task.²⁸

Aylward Shorter sees inculturation as one of the terms²⁹ used to describe the relationship between faith and cultures, that is, the creative and dynamic relationship between the Christian message and a culture or cultures.³⁰ Due to the fact that Christian faith and culture are inseparable, both play their role in the process of inculturation. It is an interaction, a dialogue or a mutual conversation between the presenter of the gospel and the recipient of the gospel. Both the presenter and recipient come from and are

²⁵ Amaladoss, ‘Liturgical inculturation and postmodern culture’, 2, <http://eapi.admu.edu.ph/eapr007/amaladoss.htm>.

²⁶ Ross, M. and Jones, S. (eds.), *The Serious Business of Worship*, (2010): xiii.

²⁷ Schineller, P., ‘Inculturation and Syncretism’ in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, (April 1992): 52.

²⁸ Schineller, (1996): 109.

²⁹ Other terms used to clarify the relationship of the gospel and cultures such as ‘indigenization’ (see Amalorvpadass 1971: 26-53, Schineller 1990: 18, Chupungco 1992: 14, Bevans (2002): 26-27, Singh & Farr 2008: 41, ‘adaptation’, ‘incarnation’ and ‘contextualization’.

³⁰ Shorter 1988: 11.

influenced by some cultural expression of Christianity and traditional religious background respectively. Schreiter agrees that the presenter of the gospel is always someone who is part of some cultural form of Christianity.³¹ Shorter emphasises that inculturation implies transformation of Christianity by a culture, not in a way that contradicts the Christian message, but one in which the message is formulated and interpreted anew.³²

Arbuckle asserts that inculturation is the interaction or dialogue between the gospel and cultures.³³ According to him, it is ‘a dialectical interaction between Christian faith and cultures in which these cultures are challenged, affirmed, and transformed toward the reign of God, and in which Christian faith is likewise challenged, affirmed, and enhanced by this experience.’³⁴ Likewise, Azevedo claims that inculturation ‘is the dynamic relation between the Christian message and culture or cultures; an insertion of the Christian life into a culture, an on-going process of reciprocal and critical interaction and assimilation between them.’³⁵

David J. Bosch proposes that inculturation is a double movement. He sees both the inculturation of Christianity and the Christianization of culture.³⁶ Correspondingly, Pope John Paul II characterised inculturation as ‘the intimate transformation of authentic cultural values through their integration in Christianity and the insertion of Christianity in the various human cultures.’³⁷ According to him, there is a dual movement in inculturation: a dialogic movement towards cultures by means of the incarnation of the gospel and the transmission of its values, and a movement towards the church that involves the incorporation of values of the cultures of the later encounters. Both of them understand inculturation as a dialogue or reciprocal interaction between Christianity and culture or cultures. The encounter between

³¹ Schreiter, R. *Faith and Cultures*, 745.

³² Shorter 1994: 54-57.

³³ Arbuckle 1990: 1.

³⁴ Arbuckle 1984: 193.

³⁵ Azevedo, M., *Inculturation and the Challenge of Modernity*, (1982): 11. See also Arbuckle, ‘Inculturation and Evangelization: Realism or Romanticism?’ in *Anthropologists, Missionaries and Cultural Change* (1985) No. 25.

³⁶ Bosch 1991: 454.

³⁷ *Redemptoris Missio*, n. 52 in Special Assembly of the Synod in 1985.

Christianity and the receiving culture reflects the encounter between two cultures since both the presenter and the recipients come from different cultures.³⁸

In summary, the various definitions and interpretations of inculturation indicate that inculturation is an encounter, dialogue – a dynamic and critical interaction between faith and culture, a process of exchange; the culture receives, but actively in return affects the gospel, a dual or double movement; the integration of cultural values and the insertion of Christianity in a culture or cultures. The terms used to define and interpret inculturation imply the dynamic and reciprocity of the relationship between the gospel and culture. For the process of inculturation to succeed, both the gospel and culture are equally important and therefore need to be examined critically. Moreover, considering the nature of culture that is dynamic and changing, it is important to acknowledge that inculturation is an on-going process.³⁹ It continues developing or progressing and is constructed on mutual recognition and dialogue, a critical mind and insight, faithfulness and conversion, transformation and growth, renewal and innovation. In addition, it is also an interface between faith and cultures, between evangelisation of cultures and the cultural understanding of the gospel. Thus, inculturation is an encounter between Christianity and culture, indicating the dialogical relationship between the gospel and a culture or cultures. It is the dynamic relation between the Christian message and culture or cultures, an insertion of the Christian life into a culture, an on-going process of reciprocal and critical interaction and assimilation between them.

To implement inculturation effectively, it is crucial to have a deep understanding of both Christianity and a particular culture in order to clarify the relationship between faith and culture and to acknowledge that inculturation presupposes any culture to be both value-neutral and imperfect. Thus, to implement critical inculturation, it is vital to assess the convergence and divergence of a particular culture with Christianity,⁴⁰ to examine and critique any particular culture before deciding which cultural elements can be adopted and adapted, transformed and reinterpreted in order for the gospel to be relevant culturally and contextually and subsequently, to generate transformation.

³⁸ See Arbuckle, 'Inculturation Not Adaptation: Time to Change Terminology' and Amaladoss, 'Inculturation and Tasks of Mission' in *Toward a New Age in Mission: International Congress on Mission*.

³⁹ Schineller 1990: 19. See also Chung 2007: 327.

⁴⁰ See Nicholls 1979: 53-67. See also Bevens 2010:117-137.

The nature of the church defines its mission. To bring about transformation in the lives of the receiving people and to enrich the gospel, mission needs to be engaged in the process of inculturation. Considering this, Peter Phan states that inculturation is a neologism to describe the way of performing the mission of the church. He acknowledges that mission has succeeded with varying degrees as the church's *modus operandi*, since its very beginning, moving out of its Jewish matrix into the Greco-Roman, then Franco-Germanic worlds.⁴¹ He claims that inculturation is rooted in a Christology that recognises the 'seeds of the Word' in every historical and cultural situation. It is strongly ecclesial. On one hand, it respects the values and customs of the local church but on the other hand, it is open for correction by engaging into critical conversation with other local churches. Inculturation therefore suggests that mission is the work of communities, not individuals, the 'work of the people' or '*leitourgia*'. Thus, for inculturation to be implemented effectively, both clergy and laity, including both women and men, need to work together.⁴²

Alongside the ecclesial implications of such a conviction, Phan perceives the presence of an anthropology that recognises the deep social nature of humanity and the goodness of human experience and the human process of culture making. He stresses that salvation is related to human and cultural integrity and wholeness; eschatology is not the waiting for a future after dismantling the efforts of human beings but the present realisation that God's vision is taking shape as people discover how their own deepest dreams coincide with God's vision of the future. For that reason, culture is highly regarded for theology and Christian life whether it is recognised as 'holy ground' in the anthropological model⁴³ or perceived with some suspicion in the counter-cultural model⁴⁴ due to the fact that human beings are not abstract creatures but are in essence human beings.⁴⁵ Consequently, he states five convictions on inculturation⁴⁶:

⁴¹ Phan 2003: 3.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Bevans (2007): 54-69.

⁴⁴ Bevans (2007): 117-138.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 387-388.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 2003: xii.

1. Inculturation is the most urgent and yet the most controversial issue in mission since Christianity is now truly a world Christianity and the church is now truly a world church.
2. The current ideas and practices of inculturation are currently being challenged since the understanding of inculturation and culture itself is undergoing significant revision within theology, missiology and anthropology.
3. Inculturation will benefit greatly from a broader appreciation of popular religiosity, the religion of ordinary women and men.
4. A deeper understanding of mission history will provide ‘useful lessons on the process of inculturation and the role of popular religion within it.’
5. The success or failure of the church depends on the future of inculturation.

In view of these five convictions, he perceives inculturation as an exercise in prophetic dialogue⁴⁷ and stresses that it needs to be dialogical because it is not always conceivable to discern a context on the surface.⁴⁸ Reviewing his five convictions on the task and propositions of inculturation for the mission of the church clearly affirms the urgency of inculturation.

Peter Schineller suggests two levels of inculturation. First, it is the on-going way of engaging in Christian life and mission. Second, it refers to the critical, reflective study of inculturation in the classroom. According to him, inculturation can only be logical and effective if it involves Christians from whatever context in the process of inculturation – that is, ‘the living and sharing of gospel values in a particular context with its own specific problems and possibilities.’⁴⁹ This shows that for inculturation to accomplish its goal to cause transformation, its concept and practice need to be examined critically.

Brian Stanley contends, ‘The quest for inculturation is a quest for a secure and integrated identity, motivated by a concern to find ways of being both authentically

⁴⁷ See Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today*, (2004): 352-395. Both of them claim that inculturation is one of six essential components of their proposal for understanding mission as a prophetic dialogue.

⁴⁸ Phan 2003: 387-388. See also Singh & Farr 2008: 43.

⁴⁹ Schineller 1990: 12-13.

Christian and authentically Chinese, Indian, African [*or Kadazandusun*].⁵⁰ According to him, it is a way in which a person from a particular ethnic group in a specific context identifies oneself as an authentic Christian without losing one's cultural identity. He then poses five crucial challenges for implementing inculturation⁵¹:

1. The inculturated language
2. The criteria for authentic inculturation
3. Whether inculturation is from inside or from outside
4. Either inculturation is from above or from below
5. The feasibility of separating 'religion' from 'culture'

Stanley concludes by saying that 'the central challenge for Christians is to discover *together* what it might mean for particular portions of humanity to re-orient the totality of their life and thinking (including elements that Westerners have tended to label as "religious" rather than "cultural") towards an acknowledgement of the Lordship of Jesus Christ, for that is surely the central strand in the DNA of the Gospel.'⁵² Based on his discussion on the challenges of implementing inculturation, it is pertinent to acknowledge that Christianity is not culturally neutral because the gospel has always been proclaimed and formed by a particular cultural background. For that reason, inculturation is imperative in order to make the gospel relevant and authentic for the receiving culture or cultures.

Arbuckle proposes two models for implementing inculturation. First, a translation model identifies a supracultural core of truth and then translates it into another context. Second, an anthropological model recognises no enduring core and lifts all conditions in dialogue in order to discover truth together.⁵³ These two models are identical to two of Bevans' six models of contextual theology.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Stanley, 'Inculturation: Historical Background, Theological Foundations and Contemporary Questions' in Singh & Farr 2008: 41. See also Kraft 1979, Stott & Coote 1980, Hiebert 1987 and Bosch 1991.

⁵¹ Ibid., 44-49.

⁵² Ibid., 44-49.

⁵³ Arbuckle 2010: 174-175. See also Bosch 1991: 447-457.

⁵⁴ Bevans, (2007): 37-69.

Chupungco also proposes two methods of inculturation, specifically for liturgical inculturation: creative assimilation and dynamic equivalence. He defines creative assimilation as the reinterpretation of cultural elements in the context of biblical personages and events, whereas dynamic equivalence is the re-expressing or translating of the liturgical *ordo* into the living language, rites and symbols of a local community.⁵⁵ The starting point of creative assimilation is culture and it focuses on what culture can contribute to Christian liturgy, whereas the starting point of dynamic equivalence is the liturgy and it is more concerned with how culture can further develop its *ordo*. However, although the two methods differ from one another, they are complementary and therefore need to be employed for effective liturgical inculturation since both are dealing with the relationship of culture and liturgy.

The models, methods and challenges of inculturation demonstrate that to employ inculturation as an effective tool in fulfilling the task of mission, it is crucial to have a profound understanding of both the gospel and culture. It is important to recognise that inculturation is the basic hermeneutic of incarnation, communicated in the language and cultural expression of the receiving people, for conveying the gospel. It is crucial to interpret the Christian message according to the receiving people's own cultural experience. Subsequently, biblical values are integrated with their religious perspectives. They are empowered to understand the gospel in their own worldview and the gospel becomes part of their life or spirituality.⁵⁶

The Great Commission in Matthew 28: 18-20 declares that the main task and goal of mission of the church is to preach the gospel and to make disciples of all races irrespective of their cultural and social backgrounds. This commission involves interpreting the Christian message effectively in every context by engaging and involving the recipients in the process of implementing different aspects of church ministry including worship. In view of fulfilling the Great Commission, it is critical for the church to employ inculturation as the tool of communicating the gospel to all cultures in different contexts from both anthropological and theological perspectives since the task involves both culture and theology. However, it is also crucial to continually reflect the task of inculturation as a tool for mission not only theologically

⁵⁵ Chupungco 2003: 2.

⁵⁶ For instance, for the Kadazandusun, spirituality encompasses every aspect of one's life.

but also anthropologically. This is to validate that the objective of inculturation is not to conquer or dominate the receiving cultures⁵⁷ or to separate the receiving people from their own cultural identity but to be genuine Christians in their own context.

3. CONTEXTUALIZATION

The term ‘contextualization’ originated from the words ‘context’ and ‘text’. Both context and text are words taken from biblical hermeneutics. For Protestant circles, the word text refers to the biblical text, as the source of inspiration. In view of that, Protestant churches tend to see contextualization as a hermeneutical activity. Its evolution began in 1957 when the Rockefeller Foundation gave three million dollars to establish a theological education fund to train leaders for churches in the third world (Asia, Africa and Latin America) with the intention of contextualizing the Gospel.⁵⁸

The term ‘contextualization’⁵⁹ was first introduced by the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Geneva in 1972 and was employed by the WCC Conference in Lausanne in 1974. The WCC continues to use the term until now. Contextualization stresses the importance of context. It is different from indigenisation, which is more concerned with how the Gospel can be clothed in traditional elements and communicated in a relevant way. It is therefore a more radical form of indigenisation that allows the context, including the social and political dimensions of a culture, to influence the way the Gospel is expressed. Moreover, the reference to contexts rather than cultures indicates that every particular context calls for creative theological reflection. However, contextualization does not only indicate greater awareness of the particularity of contexts, it also signifies greater awareness of the historical development and change that is continuing in all contexts. Accordingly, its theological implications go beyond issues of culture.⁶⁰ But there is a tendency to over-emphasise the present context to the disadvantage of the past. As a result, there can be a lack of constancy and solidity.⁶¹

⁵⁷ See Amaladoss, M., *Beyond Inculturation: Can the Many Be One?* (1998): 15-16.

⁵⁸ Schineller 1990: 19.

⁵⁹ Although ‘contextualization’ has a slightly different theological resonance than inculturation, many authors use both terms interchangeably. See Schreiter 1991: 747.

⁶⁰ See Nicholls 1979: 20ff. Bosch sees indigenization as either translation (language) or inculturation (culture). See Bosch 1991: 421.

⁶¹ Schineller 1990: 19-20.

Bevan claims that contextualization is a theological imperative and it is the starting point of doing theology in today's world.⁶² He asserts that contextualization is the interaction and dialogue between theology and traditional culture values, as well as with social change, new ethnic identities, and the conflicts that are present as the contemporary phenomenon of globalisation encounters people of the world.⁶³ Thus, according to him, contextual theology is 'experience of the past...[and] experience of the present.'⁶⁴ Likewise, Whiteman asserts:

Contextualization forces us to have a wider loyalty that corresponds to an enlarged and more adequate view of God as the God of all persons, male and female, and as a God who especially hears the cry of the poor. God can no longer simply be the God of myself, my family, my community, my nation; such a god is ultimately an idol or false god, one made according to my narrow and limited image and perspective.⁶⁵

Both Bevans and Whiteman's deliberations on contextualization argue that the truth of the Gospel and the reality of the context are equally important. It is therefore crucial to have relevant approaches or methods of interpreting the Gospel in order to discover the truth. In addition, Whiteman argues that the function of contextualization in mission confronts missionaries with three challenges: prophetic due to the nature of contextualization that ultimately changes and transforms the context; hermeneutic because contextualization empowers missionaries to see the gospel through a different cultural lens; and personal since contextualization eventually changes the missionaries once they are part of the body of Christ in their new cultural context.⁶⁶ Luzbetak agrees and states that contextualization refers particularly to the integrative processes by which a local church integrates the Gospel message (text) with its understanding of its culture (context).⁶⁷ However, Nicholls looking from the perspective of evangelicals, claims that the starting point of the process of contextualization is the unique and final revelation of God in Christ and the Gospel, interpreted in the context of its own and the receiver's culture. In the light of this, he stresses that it is crucial for missionaries to understand the culture of Scripture, one's own culture and the culture of the receiving people in

⁶² Bevans 1994: 10.

⁶³ Bevans 2002: 26-27.

⁶⁴ Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*, 7.

⁶⁵ Whiteman 1997: 4.

⁶⁶ Whiteman 1997: 2-7.

⁶⁷ Luzbetak 1998: 69-70.

order to communicate the Gospel in meanings and forms that are derived from within the particular culture.⁶⁸ Hiebert understands contextualization as the process of translating the gospel into a culture so as to enable the people to understand and respond to it. He believes that the Gospel calls all cultures to change and therefore the Gospel must be contextualized and prophetic.⁶⁹ For that reason, he suggests three levels of contextualization: the receiving people to ask new questions related to their cultural understanding, theologians to develop new cultural categories in order to clarify and interpret the message of the Gospel, and to understand the worldviews of the receiving people and to help them develop new worldviews by challenging their former worldviews theologically. Hiebert argues that by implementing these three levels of contextualization, the message of the Gospel is not only expressed in the categories of the worldview of the local culture, but their biblical understanding deepen and ultimately transforms them.⁷⁰ Lingenfelter argues that contextualization involves the process of framing the gospel message in language and communication forms relevant and meaningful to the local culture. The message also needs to focus upon crucial issues in the lives of the people. He argues that to build a contextualized indigenous church, it is crucial to engage culturally appropriate methods of evangelism since the process of discipling derives from methods of instruction that are familiar and part of local traditions of learning.⁷¹ Thus, contextualization is a communication strategy and it is the principle of contextualization from a cultural anthropological perspective.⁷²

Hesselgrave claims that ‘contextualization is not simply nice, it is a necessity.’⁷³ In Hesselgrave and Rommen’s book entitled, ‘Contextualization: Meanings, methods and models’, the authors consider the meanings of contextualization from different perspectives such as the philosophical, theological, apostolic, prophetic, and syncretistic. Philosophically, contextualization involved ‘understanding a message revealed by God in Holy Scripture and respondents who have an inadequate or distorted understanding of God’s revelation.’⁷⁴ Theologically, contextualization is ‘neither

⁶⁸ Nicholls 1979: 62.

⁶⁹ Hiebert 1985: 54-55.

⁷⁰ Hiebert 1985: 211-215.

⁷¹ Lingenfelter 1992: 15

⁷² Lingenfelter 1992: 23. See also Kraft 1979.

⁷³ Hesselgrave 1978: 85.

⁷⁴ Hesselgrave 1989: 128.

conceived nor developed *ex nihilo*.⁷⁵ In view of this, the initiators who are theologians and churchmen are responsible in developing the meanings and methods of contextualization based on their theological perspectives.⁷⁶ The meanings of contextualization vary as a result of different theological orientations.⁷⁷ From the apostolic perspective, they cite Bruce J. Nicholls and George W. Peters' definitions of contextualization that stresses the supracultural nature of the biblical Gospel.⁷⁸ Prophetic contextualization is often linked with the Theological Education Fund (TEF) Committee that defines contextualization based on the 'prophetic insight of the contextualizer and the cultural, political, and other circumstances in which he [sic] finds himself' – 'entering a cultural context, discerning what God is doing and saying in that context, and speaking and working for needed change'.⁷⁹

Bevans observes contextualization in terms of *contextual theologies*.⁸⁰ He argues that contextualization not only includes all that is implied in the older terms such as *indigenisation* and *inculturation* but also the realities of contemporary secularity, technology and the struggle for human justice.⁸¹ It is then appropriate to consider how Bevans' six models of contextual theology⁸² facilitate a better understanding of the significance of the relationship or encounter of the gospel and culture in the implementation of contextualization. His six models are therefore constructed with the intention 'to disclose the general direction, the basic presuppositions of the various attempts to do contextual theology.'⁸³ Bevans' six models vary from one another depending on each model's emphasis, basically either on the gospel or culture, with the

⁷⁵ Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989: 144.

⁷⁶ Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989: 144.

⁷⁷ Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989: 148.

⁷⁸ Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989: 149.

⁷⁹ Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989: 150. This reminds me of 'Affirming Spiritualities of Life' consultation, organized by WCC Indigenous Peoples' programme in partnership with the Latin American Council of Churches in La Paz, Bolivia in January 23-27, 2011. I was very uncomfortable when a shaman performed rituals in the opening ceremony.

⁸⁰ Bevans, (1992): 26-33.

⁸¹ See the 1972 statement of the World Council of Churches' Theological Fund, Bevans (1992): 26-27 and Philips and Coote, (1993): 239.

⁸² Bevans defines models as 'constructions, either theoretical positions without any concrete expressions or abstractions from actual concrete positions initiated and employed specifically by theologians as a useful device for grasping theology.' See Bevans, (2012): 37-137.

⁸³ Bevans, 'Models of Contextual Theology', *Missiology: An International Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, (April 1985): 186-187.

intention of examining the relationship of the gospel and culture in order to discover and develop ways of doing theology for any particular culture or context. He explains that ‘each model differs from one another but that each model can be used in combination with others’.⁸⁴ The emphasis of the translation model⁸⁵ is on the message of the Gospel and the preservation of church tradition while the anthropological model emphasises listening to culture. The praxis model sees as a primary *locus theologicus* the phenomena of social change. The synthetic model attempts to mediate the above three models by engagement of ‘analogical imagination’, and the transcendental or counter-cultural model concentrates not on theological content but on subjective authenticity within theological activity.⁸⁶ In spite of the variations of the six models, it is obvious that each model is intended to communicate the gospel in a particular culture for the implications of the church’s mission. It is indeed appropriate for Bevans and Schroeder to affirm that for the gospel to be truly communicated today, it is critical to recognise and to employ inculturation as an integral means.⁸⁷

The different views about contextualization imply that its definition and interpretation are subject to whether the emphasis is from a theological viewpoint or context, the bible or culture. Thus, contextualisation can be approached either from a theological or social scientific perspective. Nonetheless, regardless of which approach, method or model of contextualization is applied, its primary objective is to transform people in a particular culture or social context. Unlike inculturation that focuses on the dynamic and critical interaction between Christian faith and culture, contextualization stresses the interaction between theology and context that engages hermeneutical activity. In view of this, Hesselgrave argues that an authentic and effective Christian contextualization depends on a careful consideration of the biblical text and the respondent culture.⁸⁸ Likewise, Lingenfelter asserts that the idea of contextualization is transforming culture rather than transferring culture by framing ‘the gospel message in

⁸⁴ Bevans 2010: 32.

⁸⁵ Schreiter states that the Roman Catholic Church uses this model in inculturating their liturgical texts. Schreiter 1985: 7.

⁸⁶ Bevans 2009: 37-137.

⁸⁷ Bevans & Schroeder 2001: 69.

⁸⁸ Hesselgrave, ‘Contextualization that is Authentic and Relevant,’ *International Journal of Frontier Missions*, vol. 12: 3 July – September 1995.

language and communication forms appropriate and meaningful to the local culture and to focus the message upon crucial issues in the lives of the people⁸⁹

Contextualization is often regarded as the closest adversary of inculturation. Moreover, some Protestant theologians regard inculturation as a subset of contextualization.⁹⁰ However, in spite of their different theological resonance, many authors tend to use the terms interchangeably.⁹¹ For instance, Luzbetak understands contextualization, incarnation or inculturation as the various processes by which a local church integrates the gospel message (the text) with its local culture (the context). He suggests that the process of combining the text and context as one can result in the God-intended reality called 'Christian living'.⁹² He therefore refers to contextualization as inculturation and incarnation.⁹³ However, Lee disagrees and states that contextualization and inculturation are not exactly the same although contextualization and inculturation overlap and supplement each other. He agrees that neither contextualization nor inculturation by itself is entirely satisfactory because both words have their own limitations. He suggests that both words can be used depending on the context.⁹⁴ Thus, despite the different assessments on inculturation and contextualization, it is apparent that both inculturation and contextualization share a similar missiological goal.

4. REASONS FOR USING THE TERM 'INCULTURATION'

An examination of the concepts and implications of inculturation and contextualization indicates that there is disagreement about the use of the two terms due to differences in theological viewpoints and emphases. However, I recognise that both terms can be complementary and interchangeable and therefore significant for the mission of the church. However, in this research, I prefer to use the term 'inculturation' since the main focus of this thesis is on culture and worship. Furthermore, my rationale for employing the term 'inculturation' is based on six factors as stated below:

⁸⁹ Lingenfelter, *Transforming Culture: A Challenge for Christian Mission*, (1998): 12-13.

⁹⁰ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (American Society of Missiology Series), (1991): 420ff.

⁹¹ Schreiter 'Faith and Cultures: Challenges to a World Church' *Theological Studies* 50 (1989): 747.

⁹² Luzbetak 1981: 39.

⁹³ Luzbetak 1988: 69.

⁹⁴ Lee (AJT/7:1/93).

Inculturation is an interaction or dialogue between the gospel and cultures. Subsequently, the process of inculturation challenges, affirms and transforms both cultures and Christian faith. It is a process of exchange where a particular culture or cultures and the Christian faith are engaged through mutual interaction. Furthermore, the emphasis of inculturation is culture in its interaction or encounter with Christian faith. In view of this, it is relevant for this research to employ the term since its objective is to investigate how worship in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah can engage with cultural identity and understanding.

Inculturation of Christianity and the Christianization of a culture is the outcome of its double movement. The process of inculturation demonstrates a mutual or dialectic encounter between the gospel and a culture or cultures. Its task is to embed the Gospel in the unique aspect of a community within its own context and history.

Inculturation is appropriate for the encounter between faith and cultures, evangelisation of cultures and cultural understanding of the gospel since cultures are dynamic and continue to change. Likewise, the process of inculturation facilitates the communication of the Gospel in the language of the culture of the receiving people. It is not merely an outward adaptation or indigenisation but an inward transformation of authentic cultural values by their integration into Christianity and the embedding of Christianity in a particular culture.

The inculturation process involves the community, women, men, including the laity and not merely theologians. The community is the primary agent of inculturation and not merely the theologians and liturgists. Even though the theologians and liturgists play an important role in the process of inculturation, it is essential to engage the community in the process since they are the recipients of the Christian faith. Furthermore, inculturation can also be regarded as a 'bridge' between theologians [or clergy] and laity. By engaging in the process of inculturation together, theologians and laity as a community of faith can bridge the gap between them and subsequently, to bridge the gap between faith and culture. Subsequently, it is also to bridge the gap between Westernized Christianity and the various indigenous communities so as to empower them to maintain their identity both in their own culture and in Christ as indigenous Christians.

Inculturation is the quest for identity of becoming a Christian as well as embracing one's own cultural identity – meaning to be a Christian without losing one's cultural identity - 'human culture is the starting point for any approach to liturgical

inculturation.⁹⁵ Since the main focus of this thesis is assessing the liturgical worship in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah, it is therefore relevant to employ inculturation because it involves faith and culture. Inculturation is widely used among liturgical writers across different church traditions, not exclusively in the Roman Catholic Church but also in Lutheran and Anglican⁹⁶ churches as well as in other church traditions.

Liturgists use the term ‘inculturation’ rather than contextualization. Furthermore, inculturation embraces elements such as liturgy, language, music, dance, clothing, architecture, and interior decoration that can be the initiators of inculturation, making it possible for Christianity to establish itself among the indigenous peoples in Sabah, specifically in the context of worship.

For the above reasons, I prefer to use the term inculturation in this thesis in my subsequent inquiry of the relationship of worship and culture in the Anglican Church of Sabah. As part of this thesis I shall argue that inculturation is vital in order to create a form of worship that is culturally relevant to the local church and is received as its very own.⁹⁷ Although this research is primarily focussed on the Anglican Church in Sabah the principles of inculturation that are discussed are relevant to other indigenous churches worldwide.

5. LITURGICAL INCULTURATION

Inculturation is the broad theory; liturgical inculturation is a subset of it. In this section, I will look closely at the significance of liturgical inculturation in worship. The Third International Anglican Liturgical Consultation declared:

Inculturation must therefore affect the whole ethos of corporate worship... True inculturation implies a willingness in worship to listen to culture, to incorporate what is good and to challenge what is alien to the truth of God. It has to make contact with the deep feelings of people. It can only be achieved through openness to innovation and experimentation, an encouragement of local creativity, and a readiness to reflect critically at each stage of the process – a process in principle never ending. The liturgy rightly

⁹⁵ Francis, ‘Liturgical Inculturation: The State of the Question’, *Liturgical Ministry* 6 (Summer, 1997): 98.

⁹⁶ Although the Anglican Church implemented inculturation later compared to the Roman Catholic Church (Vatican II which made inculturation an official agenda in 1963 with *Sacrosanctam Concilium*) but as a matter of fact, the Anglican Church has discussed the significance of inculturation in the 1958 Lambeth Conference, followed by Lambeth Conference 1988, the York Statement 1989 and Kanamai Statement 1993. See Tovey 2004: 149.

⁹⁷ Chupungco, A. J. ‘Inculturation of Worship: Forty Years of Progress and Tradition’, 2.

constructed forms the people of God, enabling and equipping them for their mission of evangelism and social justice in their culture and society.⁹⁸

The above declaration verifies the importance and priority of implementing inculturation in worship by examining the relationship of worship and culture. It challenges the church to critically assess a particular culture in order to recognise any cultural elements in that particular culture that can offer new insights and enrich Christian worship. Subsequently, in the process of inculturation, the local congregation is empowered to worship God in its own cultural context since worship takes place within a particular cultural context and is involved in the mission of God in its community. For this reason, liturgical inculturation is a necessary tool to create worship that is relevant and meaningful and thus to ‘deepen the spiritual life of the local assembly through a fuller experience of Christ who is revealed in the people’s language, rites, arts, and symbols.’⁹⁹ Correspondingly, Tovey claims that inculturation is essential for indigenous worship.¹⁰⁰ He states, ‘Inculturation is an examination of a particular aspect of the wider issue of culture and worship, looking at the need for the cultural appropriateness of worship.’¹⁰¹ His writings affirm that inculturation is a prerequisite for worship to be engaging and sustaining for indigenous peoples.

For decades theories of liturgical inculturation have evolved from the attempts of Christian churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church¹⁰², and later other church traditions, including the Anglican Church, to inculturate Christian worship. This has involved examining liturgy presented and practised in the Western world and attempting to integrate it with a non-Western culture. Although the Anglican Church did not seem to have initiated liturgical inculturation, historically it is clear that the story of liturgical change or the revision of the Book of Common Prayer began in the time of Cranmer.¹⁰³ In later years, the liturgical revision in the Church of England has been influenced very strongly by the liturgical movement, which started in the Roman Catholic Church at the end of the nineteenth century, but only began to influence the Church of England in the

⁹⁸ Holeton, (1989): 4.

⁹⁹ Chupungco, ‘Inculturation of Worship: Forty Years of Progress and Tradition’, (2003): 2.

¹⁰⁰ Tovey 1988: 5.

¹⁰¹ Tovey 2004: 160.

¹⁰² The term ‘inculturation’ first appeared in a Vatican document (*Catechesi Tradendae*, n. 53, October 1979).

¹⁰³ Hebblethwaite 2004: 4-5.

1930s.¹⁰⁴ According to David Hebblethwaite, the liturgical revision of the Anglican Communion has functioned within a well-structured framework of synodical bodies and processes since 1986.¹⁰⁵ Anglicans within the Anglican Communion, in spite of their diverse cultural contexts, inherited the broad Western tradition of liturgy, and were formed by the liturgical practice of Western Europe for centuries. Today, the Anglican Communion has become increasingly more aware of being a global church. This is due to its emphasis on mission and global awareness, including cultural diversity. Kaye claims that the vernacular language of Anglican liturgy, its biblical and theological content and its life and faith-forming purpose imply that the Anglican liturgy is relevant for mission.¹⁰⁶ For this reason, culture has become the central issue in the discussion of liturgical renewal or liturgical inculturation in the Anglican Communion.¹⁰⁷

Chupungco describes liturgical inculturation ‘as the process whereby the texts and rites used in worship by the local church are so inserted in the framework of culture, that they absorb its thought, and ritual patterns.’¹⁰⁸ According to him, it is a process of integrating pertinent elements of a local culture into the worship of the local church so that the liturgical worship is not foreign and that the people are not isolated from their own traditions.¹⁰⁹ However, he stresses that it is crucial to assess critically and reinterpret the local elements before integrating them into Christian worship. Subsequently, liturgical inculturation then operates according to the dynamics of insertion in a given culture and the interior assimilation of cultural elements.¹¹⁰ In addition, he proposes that the issue of inculturation is not only anthropological but also theological since ‘it involves everything that concerns the relationship between God and

¹⁰⁴ Buchanan, Lloyd & Miller 1980: 27. In 1927, there was a revision of the Book of Common Prayer in response to the developments that had begun in the late nineteenth century. See Booty & Knight 1998: 449.

¹⁰⁵ Hebblethwaite 2004: 6.

¹⁰⁶ Kaye 2008: 85.

¹⁰⁷ The Lambeth Conference 1988 acknowledged the need for inculturation or contextualization, of the Anglican liturgy particularly in provinces in different contexts, affiliated to the Anglican Communion. The conference apparently considered the importance of Christ and culture. Consequently, two significant resolutions were established: Resolution 22: Christ and Culture and Resolution 47, which gives the freedom, to each province in the Anglican Communion to inculturate or contextualize the Christian worship, subject to essential universal norms of worship and to a valuing liturgical materials. See ‘The Truth Shall Make You Free’, The Lambeth Conference 1988: The Reports, Resolutions and Pastoral Letters from the Bishops (ACC 1989).

¹⁰⁸ Chupungco 1989: 29.

¹⁰⁹ Chupungco, ‘Liturgical Inculturation: The Future That Awaits Us,’ p. 3.

¹¹⁰ Chupungco 1989: 29.

God's people, everything that the Word of God took up when he became flesh and came to dwell among us.'¹¹¹

Based on his teaching experience in Africa and studies on African churches, Tovey claims that inculturation is 'the transformation of the worship of the African Church to make it a more authentic expression of African Christianity... the process of change by which alienation is destroyed.'¹¹² He sees the dynamic relationship of culture and worship as a narrow focus of inculturation, particularly on liturgy and culture, which requires the identification of both alien and inculturated worship.¹¹³ He therefore examines different models of inculturating Christian worship that can bring liturgical changes and destroy cultural alienation by adapting Bevans' six models of contextual theology.¹¹⁴ He suggests a six-branched schema, and consequently, develops his own inculturation map consisting of four main models: 'translation', 'cultural listening', 'liberation' and 'pastoral', where two other models intersect with the grid, namely, 'spirituality' and 'ancient'.¹¹⁵ Both Bevans' six models of contextual theology and Tovey's four main models of inculturation justify the urgency of the transformation of worship that reflects an authentic expression of indigenous Christianity.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, inculturation is the interaction, encounter or dialogue between gospel and culture, which includes worship and culture. Francis refers it as 'the interplay between liturgy and culture' and perceives the history of liturgy as a story of how Christian worship changed as the church moved into new cultural contexts. Reflecting on the history of the interplay of liturgy and culture, he observes that inculturation did not happen to the same degree in every place and time due to diverse circumstances, specifically the relationship of the church to the dominant culture.¹¹⁶ He argues that it is crucial to understand culture in order to inculturate the liturgy and agrees with the perspective of the social sciences that 'culture is about meaning: how groups construct, maintain, and pass on to future generations a meaningful world in

¹¹¹ Chupungco 1989: 28.

¹¹² Tovey 1988b: 5-6.

¹¹³ Tovey 2004: 3.

¹¹⁴ See Bevans 2009: 37-137.

¹¹⁵ Tovey 2004: 4-7.

¹¹⁶ Francis 2000: 20-47.

which to live.¹¹⁷ For that reason, the church's perception of itself and the presentation of its message have been influenced by the evolving understanding of culture.¹¹⁸ Chupungco concurs and stresses that 'culture is in constant evolution.'¹¹⁹ Furthermore, he argues that the inculturation of Christian worship requires a sound working definition of both culture and liturgy as well as the parameters of relationship that should exist between them. He therefore asserts that for the definition of both culture and liturgy to work concretely, appropriate methods are crucial to shape the future of inculturation. For instance, creative assimilation starts from what there is in culture and tends to introduce new elements, while dynamic equivalence begins from what already exists in the liturgy and confines itself to transmitting the message of the liturgical rite in the local cultural pattern.¹²⁰

Chupungco suggests that liturgical inculturation has to consider not only the doctrine of faith but also the requirements of the Christian liturgy.¹²¹ He proposes that inculturation is not unilateral and therefore not a question merely of observing theological and liturgical principles. According to him, there must be reciprocity and mutual respect between the liturgy and culture since culture has its categories, dynamics, and intrinsic laws. In view of that, liturgy must not impose on culture a meaning or bearing that is intrinsically alien to its nature. He affirms that authentic inculturation respects the process of transculturation – i.e., both the liturgy and culture are able to evolve through mutual insertion and absorption without damage to each other's identity. Moreover, he insists that liturgical inculturation should not incapacitate culture and its inner dynamism and assumes that the assimilation of Greek, Roman, and Franco-Germanic cultures into the liturgy has certainly provided them with a superior meaning and sometimes preserved some of their elements down the centuries.¹²² This implies that liturgical inculturation is the process of inserting the texts and rites of the liturgy into the framework of the local culture, which consequently assimilates the people's thoughts, language, values, rituals, symbols, and artistic patterns. In view of

¹¹⁷ Francis, M. 'Liturgical Inculturation: The State of the Question', *Liturgical Ministry* 6 (Summer 1997): 99.

¹¹⁸ Francis 2000: 10.

¹¹⁹ Chupungco 2010: 10.

¹²⁰ Chupungco, 'Liturgical Inculturation: The Future that Awaits Us', *Liturgical Institute Conference Proceedings Paper 4*. http://scholar.valpo.edu/is_papers/4.

¹²¹ Chupungco 1989: 30.

this, liturgy and culture then share a similar pattern of thinking, speaking, expressed through rites, symbols, and artistic forms. By inserting liturgy into the culture, history, and tradition of the people among whom the church dwells, liturgy will ultimately begin to think, speak, and ritualise according to the local cultural pattern. Liturgical inculturation is the interaction and mutual assimilation between liturgy and culture.

Liturgical theology is one of Bevan's six models that he refers to as 'adaptation' – the process of adapting the liturgy to particular cultures. According to him, the term 'adaptation' is identical to concepts in social sciences, such as 'localisation,' 'acculturation,' 'contextualization', 'indigenisation', and 'inculturation' and to the theological expression, 'incarnation'. Moreover, he perceives every model of contextual theology is in some way a model of translation due to a content that needs to be adapted or accommodated to a particular culture. He stresses that in the model, the message of the gospel is an unchanging message – conceived as a way of being faithful to an essential content and that the values and thought forms of culture and the structures of social change are convenient vehicles for this essential, unchanging elements of truth.¹²³

Amaladoss describes inculturation as a complex process of gospel-culture encounter. He emphasises that liturgical inculturation is ineffective unless there is a widespread awareness that 'the celebrating community is the agent of the liturgical action because liturgy itself is a symbolic action of the community.'¹²⁴ According to him, liturgy is not merely a network of symbols and texts, but it is also the symbolic action of a community. He therefore agrees that inculturation is the work of the community rather than of individuals, and that it is for the community that acts as the representation of the life of the community.

MacDonald claims that 'the inculturation of liturgy is central to the manifestation of the church, not only to itself, but also to the world.'¹²⁵ This clearly indicates that the main objective of liturgical inculturation is to transform Christian worship so as to make it not only comprehensible to the local people but also to empower them to worship in

¹²² Chupungco 1989: 31.

¹²³ Bevans 2002: 37.

¹²⁴ Amaladoss, 'Liturgical Inculturation and Postmodern Culture.'
<http://eapi.admu.edu.ph/eapr007/amaladoss.htm>.

¹²⁵ MacDonald 2003: 105.

their own language and ways relevant to their culture and context without diverging from biblical truths and Christian practices. Consequently, the local people are empowered and equipped to grow spiritually and to witness to their Christian life through their presence and involvement both in the Christian community as well as in the wider community especially in a pluralistic society like Malaysia.¹²⁶ According to Avis, the church witnesses its place in society when it is committed to nurturing the wholeness of human beings, strengthening relationships within families and communities, and deploying its pastoral resources to people in need.¹²⁷

Liturgy operates within a Christian community, in order that the Christian community can worship the triune God through life in the world, offering itself through work and service as a living sacrifice (Rom 12:1).¹²⁸ MacDonald proposes that when ‘the objective of liturgical inculturation to be not a message, content, or meaning, but the “interaction of bodies with a structured environment”– the church is doing the liturgy.’¹²⁹ According to him, this type of inculturation gives freedom and responsibility to the church not only to be culturally authentic to its context but also evangelically authentic to its mission.¹³⁰ In view of this, Schattauer sees the importance of the relationships between liturgy and mission and suggests that God acts to empower and to equip the church for mission in Christian liturgy.¹³¹ Bevans and Schroeder propose that liturgy is mission in prophetic dialogue. This indicates that liturgical worship is a celebration with deep awareness of the context of the community – its experiences, its culture, its social location(s), its struggles and its victories, and that it is also a moment of evangelisation. Furthermore, they affirm that liturgy is Christological and eschatological.¹³² Similarly, Chupungco affirms:

The liturgy celebrated in the church building gives various forms to the emblematic presence of God in the midst of his people. It celebrates the wonders he has performed in history. It looks to him as the ultimate goal of an encounter and a praise which have no end

¹²⁶ ‘Eucharistic worship does not end in cosy fellowship but costly mission to the world.’ See Simon Chan, ‘Mother Church: Toward Pentecostal Ecclesiology’, *Pneuma* 2/22 (Fall 2000): 189.

¹²⁷ Avis 2007: 193.

¹²⁸ Liturgy is celebrated ‘inside’, ‘outside in’ and ‘inside out’. See Bevans & Schroeder 2004: 362-366

¹²⁹ MacDonald 2003: 109.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Schattauer, ‘Liturgical Assembly as Locus of Mission’ in Bevans & Schroeder 2004: 1-21.

¹³² Bevans & Schroeder 2004: 362-366.

and which the celebration itself anticipates, so that the people on pilgrimage is also in a real sense an eschatological people.¹³³

In addition, Chupungco acknowledges that the liturgy engages the entire person. It is a spiritual and physical, intellectual and emotional, heavenly and earthly activity. Consequently, he sees the universe as an integral element of the liturgy.¹³⁴ Holeton affirms that Christians are formed by what they say and do in liturgy – the way they conceive God, the way they understand the nature of Christian community and the manner in which they engage the world all shaped by their common liturgical life.¹³⁵ Nichols proposes that true contextualization ought to happen in worship – the expression of the true adoration of God, which is the deepest expression of a religious worldview, communicated in religious art, music and poetry. According to him, contextualization of the gospel initiates one's judgement and renews conscience so as to be sensitive to respond to the Word of the living God and the dictates of God's moral law.¹³⁶

Francis argues that modern trends in philosophy, science and politics, deemed as hostile to the traditional understanding of the Christian faith as expressed in both doctrinal definitions and worship, have often challenged and even threatened the church since the time of the Council of Trent (1545-63).¹³⁷ Correspondingly, Chupungco sees the following contemporary challenges to liturgical reform: the impact of technology on liturgy, the decline of the observance of Sunday specifically in modern and urban societies, the need for a revision of the weekday order of Mass, and the acceptance and acknowledgement of the role of women in the church.¹³⁸ He is convinced that multicultural and multi-ethnic communities are now a sociological reality in many parts of the world. In view of this, he acknowledges two main challenges related to liturgical inculturation. The first challenge concerns the church's willingness to accept liturgical pluralism rooted in cultural or ethnic diversity, Chupungco affirms that liturgy highly values hospitality. The second challenge concerns the willingness of the Christian

¹³³ Chupungco 2000: 397. Amaladoss recognises liturgy as a social celebration and says that 'Liturgy is not primarily a network of symbols and texts. It is a symbolic action of a community.'

¹³⁴ Chupungco 2010: 32.

¹³⁵ Holeton 1996: 6.

¹³⁶ Nichols 1979: 62.

¹³⁷ Francis 2000: 4.

¹³⁸ Chupungco 2010: 10-19.

community to allow local architectural and artistic designs to influence the architecture and furnishings, such as the Eucharistic table, lectern, vessels, and vestments of the church. Thus, he sees visions, tensions, and challenges are essential to liturgical inculturation.¹³⁹ Likewise, Meyers also acknowledges the same challenges in relation to multiculturalism in liturgical reform.¹⁴⁰ Bria proposes that ‘the liturgical model should operate critically and effectively in breaking the obstacles of language, sociology or ethos that hinder the mediation of the memory of God to the new generations.’¹⁴¹ In relation to this, Tovey suggests that any study of inculturation has to follow a complete hermeneutical circle rather than colonial or neo-colonial approaches. According to him, inculturation is not only an issue in Africa but also within the worldwide Anglican Communion, comprising of churches from diverse cultural contexts. He proposes three methods of examining and implementing inculturation which include: interdisciplinary approaches using the resources of theology and social sciences, case studies in a wider comparative methodological framework, and learning by reflection on experience, a method shared by other branches of theology and other disciplines.¹⁴²

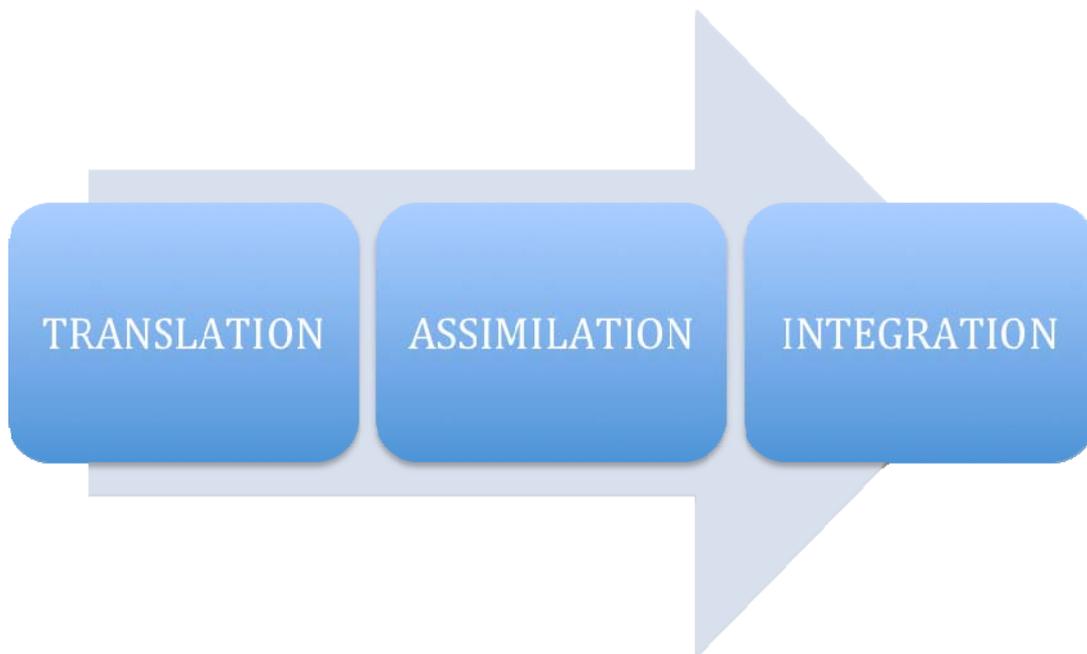
¹³⁹ Chupungco 2010: 20-24.

¹⁴⁰ Meyers 1996: 19.

¹⁴¹ Bria 1996: 53.

¹⁴² Tovey 2004: 160.

6. THREE MOVEMENTS OF INCULTURATION



Considering the discussion on inculturation and liturgical inculturation in the earlier part of this chapter, I propose that the process of inculturation can be understood as three movements: translation, assimilation and integration as shown in the figure. The term ‘movement’ reflects the ‘gradual progression’ of inculturation within a particular cultural context. As deliberated earlier in this chapter, inculturation is neither static nor rigid but rather an on-going process, encountering a culture in a given time and place. It is an appropriate missiological tool for reflecting both theologically and culturally¹⁴³ the effectiveness of communicating the gospel in a culture or cultures in any given context. For instance, inculturation can be employed as a means to engage and to connect the Kadazandusun, including the young generation within their global culture in the encounter between Christian faith and culture in the framework of worship in order for them to participate fully in the life and mission of the Church. It is therefore vital to continue assessing and advancing the task of inculturation in order to accomplish the Church’s unchanging goal of communicating Christ incarnate.

Translation is the first movement that happens during the pioneering stage of mission following an encounter between the church and a new culture. Both Bevens and Sanneh see the significance of the translation approach in communicating the Gospel or

¹⁴³ ‘Culturally’ referring to both the anthropological and ethnological sense of culture.

Christian faith in a new culture.¹⁴⁴ For instance, the Jewish world and Greek wisdom caused a new form of inculturation – the translation of the Bible into Greek. Likewise, the encounter between the Anglican Church (SPG and CMS missionaries) and the Kada-zandusun in Sabah initiated a simplified translation of the Prayer Book and other Christian literature in the Malay language will be discussed in chapter 8. The dynamic of this movement is that a new culture is introduced alongside the Christian message and witness. This movement can also be referred as ‘cultural translation or acculturation’. Both missionaries and local Christians assimilate elements of each other’s cultures. During this movement, the church is unfortunately perceived as foreign and for the indigenous people to convert to Christianity means a change to a new identity and a new community affiliation.

Assimilation is the second movement that follows when the church becomes closer to the indigenous culture. This can also be considered as the process of indigenisation since indigenous Christians are more involved in the leadership and ministries of the church. There are more interactions and dialogues between the Gospel and the culture of the receiving people. This movement creates a great potential for mutual dialogues between the gospel and culture of the local congregation, providing opportunities for creative assimilation of the gospel into the indigenous culture and vice versa – mutual learning and critical adaptation as well as a time of reconciling the church that is between two or even more cultures.¹⁴⁵

Integration is the third movement that occurs when the gospel becomes part of the indigenous culture as a result of mutual dialogue or reciprocal interaction between Christian faith and culture. It is an internal transformation experienced by the receiving people when the Christian message has finally integrated into their lives. Transformation can be considered as an authentic revelation of the Gospel that leads to faith maturity as a consequence of an active reorientation of an indigenous culture. During this movement, indigenous Christians are convinced and competent in the teaching of the church and yet grounded in their own local culture. As a result, emerging indigenous theologians begin to take an active role in interpreting the Gospel as hermeneutics and theological reflections in order to deepen the task of inculturation.

¹⁴⁴ See Bevans, S. B., *Models of Contextual Theology*, (2002) and Sanneh, L., *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*, (2009).

¹⁴⁵ See Chunpungco, *Liturgical Inculturation, Sacramentals, Religiosity and Catechesis*, 1992.

Examining the historical development of the Anglican Church in chapter four, I realised that the task of inculturation has been implicitly implemented in these three movements in the past 125 years since its existence in 1888 and for the 50 years as an autonomous diocese since 1964. I am convinced that there is a need for continual critical reflections on the task of inculturation in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah in order for the church to move forward and be relevant and effective in its own context for the sake of the advancement of the life and mission of the church in a multicultural context in Malaysia.¹⁴⁶ Inculturation is the ‘way forward’ in engaging with the indigenous culture and religious tradition in a dynamic and critical interaction with the Gospel towards a more authentic and vibrant Christianity in Sabah, Malaysia and beyond. Furthermore, inculturation is the ‘way forward’ for making the Gospel a catalyst for change not only among the indigenous ethnic communities in Sabah but also in the Anglican Province of Southeast Asia.

My thesis, in following this framework, is organised into three parts corresponding to the three movements of inculturation. The first part is an investigation of the first movement of inculturation, translation, which encompasses the encounter between the indigenous people, specifically the Kadazandusun’s religio-cultural beliefs and Anglican Christianity in Sabah. This is discussed in chapters 3, 4 and 6.

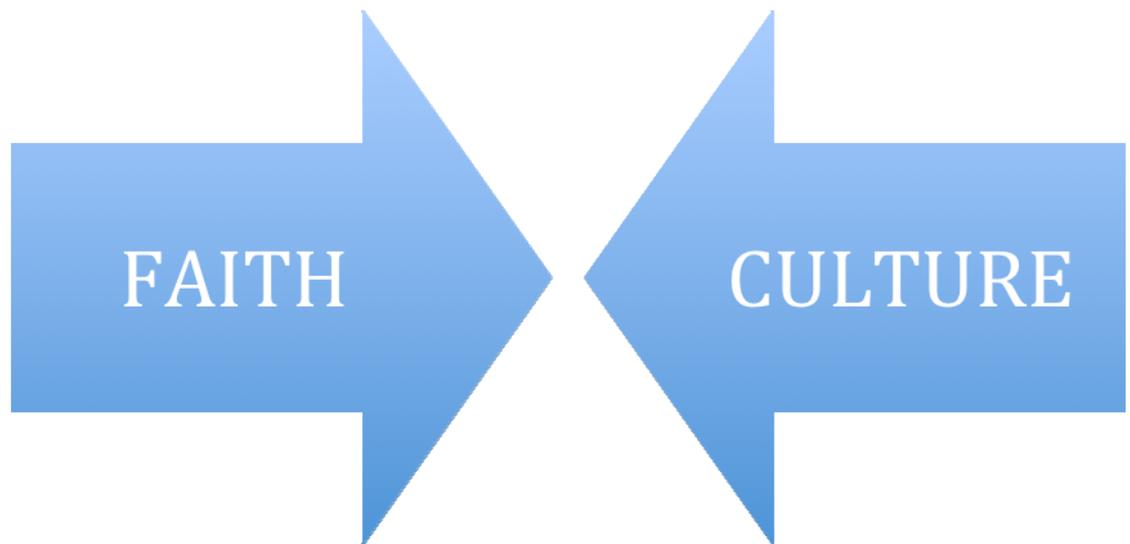
The second part examines the second movement of inculturation, assimilation. This movement is deliberated in chapters 7 and 8, where I make an assessment of the assimilation process and critique the encounter between Anglican worship and the Kadazandusun’s spirituality with the intention of investigating how the process of assimilation of Anglican worship has impacted on Kadazandusun spirituality.

Finally, the third part, integration, is an evaluation of the Anglican worship in Sabah within the framework of the three movements, specifically looking at the factors that have contributed to the hindrances of integrating the Christian Gospel with the life and mission of the church in the context of worship. In this concluding chapter, I propose ways of continuing the process of inculturation in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah by deepening the task of inculturation for the purpose of integrating Christian

¹⁴⁶ Religion is often associated with ethnicity in Malaysia due to the fact that almost all of the major religions of the world are well represented in the country.

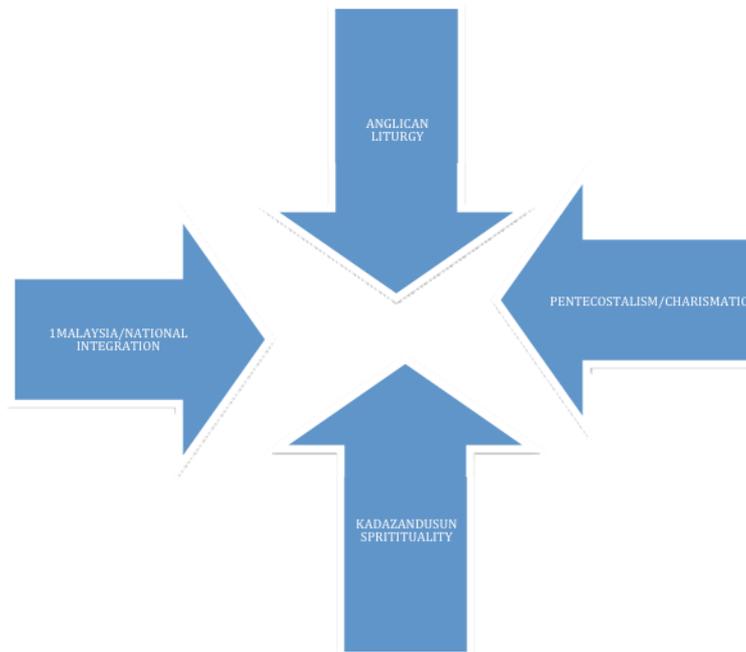
faith, specifically in employing liturgical inculturation. It is my goal to challenge the Anglican Church of Sabah to embrace indigenous Christian worship in order to meet the spiritual needs of the indigenous people alongside the advancement of Christian witness in the context of Malaysia.

LITURGICAL INCULTURATION

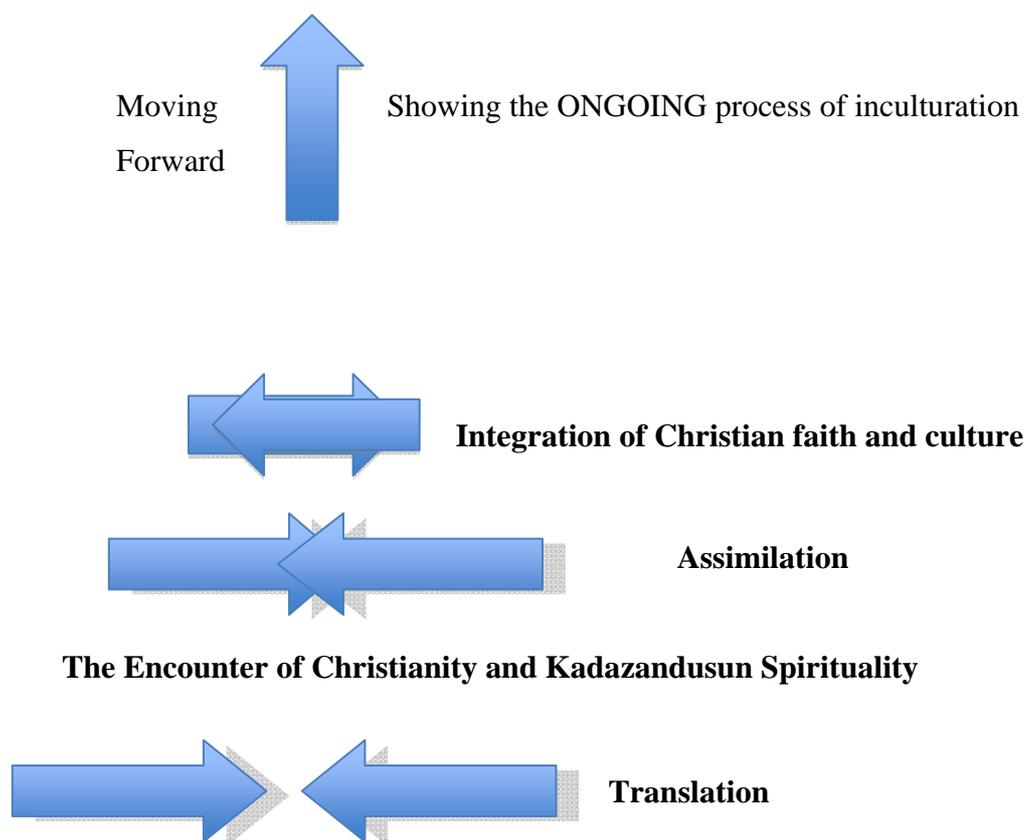


The figure above shows the beginning of the liturgical inculturation process, translation, among the Malay-speaking¹⁴⁷ congregations in the Anglican Church in Sabah in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It was the first encounter of Christian faith in the form of Anglicanism and Kadazandsun's spirituality or religio-cultural beliefs and practices. The initial stage of their relationship was not mutual mainly due to language and cultural barriers. Furthermore, the SPG and CMS missionaries came with their Eurocentric worldview while the Kadazandusun were in their own traditional worldview. There was a clash of civilizations and the interaction between the Christian message and the culture of the indigenous people was not dynamic and reciprocal. Inculturation was perceived as the accommodation or adaptation of Christianity into their culture due to the lack of critical interaction and dialogue as well as to the Eurocentric theology and worship of the missionaries.

¹⁴⁷ There are three main speaking congregations in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah: the English-speaking, Chinese-speaking and Malay-speaking. The Kadazandusun and other indigenous ethnic groups are included in the Malay-speaking congregation since they speak different languages and dialects. Thus, the national language, Malay is used as the medium of instruction in worship.



This figure demonstrates the second movement of liturgical inculturation, assimilation. During this movement, the Anglican worship in Sabah was influenced by many factors as indicated in the figure, including education. These factors have affected the process of inculturation and subsequently, the pattern of worship in the Anglican Church and the spirituality of the people. Nonetheless, the Anglican Church continues to use the liturgy (Prayer Book) during worship services.



This figure indicates the gradual progress of the liturgical inculturation process and its ultimate goal.

7. CONCLUSION

Examining the various theories of inculturation deliberated in this chapter, it is evident that inculturation is an essential tool for encountering new cultures and for transforming a culture or cultures.¹⁴⁸ It is a consequence of a deep experience in the life of an individual and a community, where there is a constant search for affinity between faith and culture¹⁴⁹ – ‘the creative and dynamic relationship between the Christian message and a culture or cultures.’¹⁵⁰

In the context of worship, inculturation is an important tool for communicating Christian faith. It empowers a community within a particular culture or context to

¹⁴⁸ Tovey 2004:160.

¹⁴⁹ See ‘The York Statement 1989’ in Holeton 1990: 9.

¹⁵⁰ Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 1988: 11.

connect with God through worship, both individually and corporately, and subsequently, to grow in a relationship that leads to Christian maturity.

In view of this, worship is therefore not only a vital component and tradition in the life of the church but also a fundamental means of drawing individuals and communities to God. It is the task of the church to bring people regardless of their diverse social and cultural backgrounds to worship God, which is a sign of the kingdom until creation is restored in Jesus Christ. It is then critical to implement inculturation in order to face new challenges in Christian mission and for the sake of the continuity of God's mission.

CHAPTER 3

THE RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF SABAH, MALAYSIA

1. INTRODUCTION

Malaysia is a federal constitutional monarchy, a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country¹ with a population of 29,602.2 million, of which 27,245.2 are Malaysian citizens and 2,375.0 are non-citizens.² The Malaysian citizens include the ethnic groups known as *bumiputera*³ 67.4% (majority are Malays⁴, *Orang Asli*, ‘Original peoples’ or ‘first peoples’ in West Malaysia 0.5%⁵ and different indigenous ethnic groups in East Malaysia (Sabah and Sarawak)⁶, Chinese 24.6%, Indians 7.3% and others 0.7% (Arabs, Armenians, Eurasians, Filipinos, Indonesians and so on).⁷ Despite being a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country, the Malay majority (over 50% of the total population) dominates the Malaysian government, power and politics. Islam is declared the official

¹ The development of multicultural society in Malaysia can be traced for nearly 2000 years but was especially intense during the twentieth century owing to British colonial policies. These encouraged the immigration and settlement of large numbers of people mainly from China, India and Indonesia due to the demand for labour in public works as well as in primary production sectors where the excellent prospects for trade and commerce were enhanced by the law and order associated with British rule. By the end of British rule, Malaysia had become an Asian miniature, representing people from almost every part of Asia.

² Population Estimates by Quarterly Ethnic Group and Sex – Malaysia, Department of Statistics Malaysia, Official Portal.

³ *Bumiputera* is a Malay term that comes from the Sanskrit word, *bhumiputra* – ‘son of land’ or ‘sons of the soil’ referring to the indigenous peoples of Malaysia, especially the Malays. The first Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman coined the concept *bumiputera* that recognizes the ‘special position’ of the Malays. See Federal Constitution of Malaysia Article 153.

⁴ Article 160 of the Malaysian Constitution defines a Malay as being one who ‘professes the religion Islam, habitually speaks the Malay language, conforms to Malay customs and is the child of at least one parent who was born within the Federation of Malaysia before independence of Malaya on 31 August 1957, or the issue (off-spring) of such a person.’

⁵ The term *Orang Asli* refers to the indigenous minority peoples of Peninsular Malaysia. It replaced the term ‘aborigines’ used by the British colonial administration. The *Orang Asli* are not Malay Muslims, Malaysia’s main ethnic group. They are not homogenous group since each ethnic group has its own language and culture – divided into eighteen ethno-linguistic sub-groups but for official purpose they are classified under Negrito, Senoi and Proto-Malay. See Colin, N., ‘The Orang Asli and the Contest for Resources: Orang Asli Politics, Development and Identity in Peninsular Malaysia,’ International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs, Copenhagen: Centre for Orang Asli Concerns, Subang Jaya, 2000:3.

⁶ See Federal Constitution of Malaysia Article 160(2) on indigenous peoples of Malaysia, Article 161A(6)(a) on natives of Sarawak and Article 161A(6)(b) on natives of Sabah.

⁷ See the Distribution and Basic Demographic Characteristics 2010 published by the Department of Statistics of Malaysia Official Portal in 2011 – <http://www.statistics.gov.my>

religion of Malaysia as stated in Article 3 of the Malaysian Constitution, the supreme law of Malaysia since its independence in 1957. The Malay community are virtually all Muslims. However, according to the Malaysian Constitution, there is freedom of religion for the other ethnic communities. Some other indigenous groups have adopted either Islam or Christianity but a significant number still retained their traditional religion. In Article 152 of the Constitution, the Malay language is declared as the national language of Malaysia. Malaysian society is known for its linguistic complexity as a result of the range of religious and cultural traditions.

Geographically, Malaysia is situated in the heart of Southeast Asia, and comprises 2 distinct lands: the Peninsular neighbouring Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia and the Eastern states in the Northern part of the island of Borneo.⁸ Peninsular or West Malaysia comprises of 11 states: Perlis, Kedah, Penang (Pulau Pinang), Perak, Selangor, Melaka⁹, Johor, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Terengganu and Kelantan; East Malaysia consists of Sabah and Sarawak¹⁰. There are 3 federal territories in Malaysia: Kuala Lumpur (the capital city), Putrajaya and Labuan. They are governed directly by the Federal Government. Together, Peninsular Malaysia and East Malaysia occupy an area of 198,149 square kilometres, Peninsular Malaysia: 131,794 square kilometres, Sabah: 73,700 square kilometres and Sarawak: 124,449 square kilometres.

Historically, the Federation¹¹ of Malaysia was formed in 1963 comprising the Federation of Malaya, the eleven states in Peninsular Malaysia, which gained its independence from the British on 31 August 1957, and the two states in the island of Borneo, Sarawak and Sabah¹² and Singapore.¹³ Due to political and economic reasons,

⁸ The island of Borneo is third largest in the world and it covers an area of 307,000 and 284,000 square miles. It lies between longitude 109E and 119E and between latitude 7N and 4S. See Baker 1962: 1.

⁹ In the fifteenth century Melaka was in the words of Tom Pires, 'of such importance and profit that it seems to me it has no equal in the world'. See Andaya & Andaya 1982 & 2001: 39.

¹⁰ Sarawak was under the rule of the Brooke family from 1841-1946 but although the Rajahs were British subjects, Sarawak remained as an independent sovereign state. See Saint 1985: 9.

¹¹ A federation is a group of states united with one central government and each state has its own state government.

¹² Both Sabah and Sarawak had been British Crown colonies from July 1946.

¹³ Singapore had been given internal self-government by Britain in 1958. On 27 May 1961, Tunku Abdul Rahman, the first Prime Minister of Malaysia proposed merger between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, and the creation of a new federation including other British colonies in the northern part of Borneo such as Brunei, Sabah and Sarawak in order to avoid possible dominance of Chinese in the new federation. On 1 September 1962, a referendum was conducted and 71% of the population was in favour of the merger. However, the Sultan of Brunei did not support the merger and decided to stay out of it. The

which caused internal and external threats to Singapore, an agreement was signed on 7 August 1965 between the leaders of Malaysia and Singapore and on 9 August 1965 Singapore withdrew from the then Malaysia and became a fully independent country.

Sabah was known formerly as British North Borneo until it became part of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. It is the most mountainous region of the island of Borneo. The ranges are higher and the main chain is the Crocker Range coming from the South West. The main rivers in the Northeast coast are the Kinabatangan, Labuk, Sugut and Segama.¹⁴ It occupies the Northern part of the island of Borneo and borders Sarawak in the west and Indonesia in the South. It is the second largest of the 13 states in the Federation of Malaysia. Sabah and Sarawak, known as East Malaysia¹⁵ are separated from Peninsular Malaysia by the South China Sea. Sabah has a warm and humid climate throughout the year and is usually not affected by severe storms or typhoons. Consequently it is known as, 'The Land below the Wind' because it lies south of the typhoon belt and the typhoons are therefore weak. The landscape is highly dissected and steep, and about 60% of Sabah's area is mountainous. The highest mountain in Southeast Asia, Mt. Kinabalu (4,101 metre high) is located in Sabah. Most of the lowland areas are confined to the coastal region. Both the coastal belt and the mountainous slopes are densely forested, and rich tropical rainforest of one type or another characterises most of the state.¹⁶ Sabah is known as, 'The Land of Biodiversity' in reference to the fact that the State's natural resources comprise one of the highest species-biodiversity in the world. In December 2000, the Sabah Biodiversity Enactment (SBE 2000) was endorsed by the Sabah State Legislature to provide a legal framework for the protection of the biodiversity and biological resources in Sabah.

There are many interpretations of the history of Borneo¹⁷ and according to Baker its history is almost unknown before the coming of the first Europeans in the sixteenth

Cobbald Commission was appointed to find out whether the people in Sabah and Sarawak supported the formation of the federation and in August 1962, it was reported that two-thirds of the people agreed to the new federation in spite of opposition from the Philippines and Indonesia.

¹⁴ See Baker (1962: 1.

¹⁵ Sarawak and Sabah (formerly known as North Borneo) became states of Malaysia on 16 September 1963; with effect from 6 August 1966 the two states were officially called East Malaysia. See Ongkili, J. Modernization in East Malaysia 1960 – 1970.

¹⁶ Borneo rainforest is 130 million years, the oldest rainforest in the world.

¹⁷ For instance, the first Europeans to discover Borneo were believed to be the Portuguese or Spaniards between 1518 and 1526. However, it is also claimed that an Italian traveller by the name Varthema may

century.¹⁸ Nonetheless, archaeologists estimate Sabah (North Borneo) was populated at least 30,000 years ago when the early inhabitants used the Madai limestone caves for shelter and food. According to Ivor H.N. Evans, a pioneer ethnographer in North Borneo, ‘The first European traveller to give an account of the manners and customs of any Bornean tribe was Antonio Pigafetta, who visited the city of Brunei in 1521.’¹⁹ Hunting and gathering were probably the main economic activities. Recent documentation of communities living in the coastal plains of Sabah indicates that they were largely self-reliant, producing food and other necessities for themselves. They depended on the forest and land, which everyone had the right to use, cultivate or occupy, for their main resources. The people practised communal living as a way of life, and decision-making was by consensus.

Sabah has a heterogeneous population that is culturally diverse. There are some 50 ethnic groups.²⁰ About 30 are indigenous, each with its own distinctive customs and practices. The 1991 census categorizes the indigenous peoples²¹ as: the Kadazandusun,²² the Bajau, the Murut, other indigenous, and the Malays.²³ Based on the 2000 census, the indigenous groups make up about 60% of the estimated 2.6 million total population of Sabah. They speak more than 50 languages and 80 dialects. In recent years, 32 of Sabah’s languages have been accepted by the State as indigenous and are associated with the 32 major ethnic entities. The languages comprise the Dusunic,²⁴ Murutic²⁵ and

came earlier. The Chinese were also believed to have frequently visited Borneo since sixteenth century. See Ivans 1990/1922: 18.

¹⁸ Baker 1962: 19.

¹⁹ Evans 1990 (first published in 1922): 17-18.

²⁰ There are 50 Western Austronesian languages and the different ethnic groups in Sabah speak numerous dialects.

²¹ There are different views regarding the origin of the indigenous peoples in Borneo. For instance, some claim that they are of Mongoloid stock possibly came to Borneo from Indo-China and the Philippines or China. Baker 1962: 9.

²² The Kadazandusun are a collection of several groups of predominantly agricultural people who cultivate wet and hill rice. Kadazandusun is an amalgamated word created through political negotiation in Sabah. It is a combination of ‘Kadazan’ and ‘Dusun’, the names of two main ethnic groups in Sabah. Based on the census taken in 2000, the population of Kadazandusun is estimated about 470,000 of the 2.6 million of the total population of Sabah.

²³ Indigenous Classification Census Report 1991.

²⁴ The Dusunic family is the largest since the Kadazandusun are the main indigenous group of Sabah, spreading from Papar in the South to Penampang, Kota Kinabalu, Tambunan and Ranau in the interior, and Tuaran and Kota Belud in the north. There are 14 distinct languages.

²⁵ The Murutic family is in southern Sabah and in northern parts of Sarawak and Kalimantan. There are a total of 12 languages.

Paitanic²⁶ families, of the Borneon stock of the Austronesian languages. The indigenous peoples are frequently referred to as '*bumiputera*', a term created primarily to facilitate the implementation of Malaysia's New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1970.²⁷

2. RELIGIOUS OVERVIEW OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF SABAH

Historically, the indigenous peoples in the Malay Peninsular were either Hindus or animists before the significant impact of Islam to the Malay world in the early fifteenth century.²⁸ Parameswara²⁹ became the first Sultan of Malacca and converted to Islam in 1409 when he married a princess from Pasai. Upon embracing Islam, Parameswara took the name Sultan Mahmud Iskandar Shah. His conversion and the presence of Muslim traders³⁰ strengthened the Islamic teachings, beliefs, values and worldview of the Malay world. A.H. Johns claims that the Sufis had the most significant role in bringing about the Islamization of the Malay Peninsular in the fourteenth century. Their influence grew significantly in the Muslim world in the thirteenth century and their teachings were attractive to the mystic tendencies of the Malays and their rulers.³¹ Further, Lopez argues that beginning from Sultan Mahmud Iskandar Shah's reign, an Islamic understanding increasingly pervaded successive Sultanates to the extent that the view of being Malay encompassed an implicit observance to the Islamic faith.³² Accordingly Andaya and Andaya states that Parameswara's conversion to Islam was a 'watershed in Melaka's history, an inspired event which confirmed the kingdom's superior status.'³³

²⁶ The Paitanic family are along the eastern rivers such as the Paitan, Kinabatangan and Segama. In ancient time, Chinese traders visited these rivers and in the fifteenth century, the first Islamic missionaries came to Kinabatangan. As a result, many peoples of the Paitanic group have converted to Islam and they call themselves the Orang Sungai, the River People.

²⁷ The New Economic Policy (NEP) was launched in 1970 in Malaysia, to strengthen unity through (1) reducing and ultimately eradicating poverty by increasing the level of income-expanding opportunities for employment and (2) restructuring society in order to correct the economic imbalance between the different ethnic groups.

²⁸ The region of Peninsular Malaysia became an international trade centre since the height of the Srivijaya Empire in the seventh to thirteenth century and as a result, it was a meeting place for peoples from different civilizations and belief systems.

²⁹ The name 'Parameswara' is derived from Sanskrit, a Hindu concept meaning 'Supreme Lord'.

³⁰ Arab and Indian traders began coming to Malacca since tenth and thirteenth century respectively. See Andaya & Andaya 2001: 53-58.

³¹ Johns, 'Malay Sufism,' *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXX, 2 (1957): 5-11. McAmis 2002: 17 and Andaya & Andaya 2001: 55.

³² Lopez 'The British Presence in the Malay World: A Meeting of Civilizational Traditions', *Sari* 19 (2001): 3-33, www.ukm.my/penerbit/jsari 19-01.pdf.

Based on the arguments above about the coming and influence of Islam, it is apparent that the impact of Islam in Borneo might have spread from the Malay Archipelago, which subsequently, led to the expansion of the Brunei Sultanate. According to Samuel Bryan, *Mohammedanism*, an earlier term used by historians and missionaries for Islam, was brought to the coastal settlements of the island of Borneo, over several centuries by Arab traders and adventurers. He asserts that it was economic incentives that caused the influence of *Mohammedanism* in Borneo.³⁴ Historical records indicate that some of the *Mohammedanism* influence came either directly or via the Javanese and Sumatran merchants from the Malabar Coast in the fourteenth century.³⁵ Likewise, animism was widespread in Borneo before the arrival of Christian missionaries from Europe.

After the decline of the Sultanate of Malacca in the fifteenth century, successive Christian colonizers arrived: the Portuguese in 1511, the Dutch in 1641 and the British in 1786 in Peninsular Malaysia. By the mid-eighteenth century, the British dominated the trade in India, China and Southeast Asia.³⁶ Christianity was introduced in Sarawak and Sabah, formerly known as Borneo, in the late nineteenth century.³⁷ Baker claims that ‘the pagans appear to be turning to Christianity more than to Islam.’ However, based on his findings in 1946-1956, out of 117,867 Dusuns in Borneo, only 8.5% were Christians, 4.3% Muslims and 86.6% of them were still holding on to their traditional religion.³⁸ Thus, the Dusuns were still holding on to their traditional religion in spite of the influence of Christianity and Islam. Historically, it is undeniable that the Christian presence in Malaysia is the consequence of missionary efforts that were made possible through the presence of the colonial powers.

³³ Andaya & Andaya 2001: 55.

³⁴ Bryan, ‘Mohammedanism in Borneo: Notes for a study of the local modifications of Islam to the extent of its influence on native tribes,’ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 33, (1913): 313-344.

³⁵ See St. John, Horace, R., ‘*Indian Archipelago*,’ 2 Vols. London, 1853.

³⁶ Andaya & Andaya 2001

³⁷ See R. Phelan, ‘The Form of Priesthood in the Kadazan (Dusun) System of Religion’, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No.1 (1983): 55-73.

³⁸ Baker 1962: 16.

The Anglican Church began in Sarawak in 1856. Subsequently, it spread to Sabah in 1888.³⁹ However, the Anglican mission to the indigenous peoples only began in 1956⁴⁰ since it was not the initial goal of the Anglican Church to evangelise the indigenous peoples. Rather, their main purpose of sending missionaries was to minister to the expatriates who were working with the colonizers and to the Chinese who were transported by the British to Sabah as their labour force in their economic enterprises. In view of this, the mission work remained restricted to the main towns such as Jesselton, Sandakan and Tawau, and subsequently to the Chinese.

The mission to the indigenous peoples in 1956 concentrated on the three main rivers in Sabah: the Kinabatangan,⁴¹ the Labuk and the Segama.⁴² The three different ethnic groups residing along these three main rivers, the indigenous peoples in Labuk,⁴³ Kinabatangan⁴⁴ and Segama⁴⁵ are categorised under the Kadazandusun race although this can be controversial due to their distinct geographical locations and differences in languages and certain aspects of their cultures. Nonetheless, the early Christian missionaries and the British Chartered Company called them Kadazan⁴⁶ although they were living in the remote areas of Sabah.⁴⁷ The indigenous ethnic group in

³⁹ The history and development of the Anglican Mission in Sabah is discussed in chapter 4.

⁴⁰ In recent years, mission to the indigenous people has expanded to two other rivers, the Sugut River and Paitan River, as well as to different remote areas of Sabah.

⁴¹ The Kinabatangan River begins from the western ranges and flows through the central region towards the east coast out into the Sulu Sea. It is the second longest river in Malaysia after the Rejang River at a length of 560 kilometres.

⁴² Segama was commercially significant in 1885-1913 due to its gold and the British Borneo Gold Mining Company and the Segama Gold Company were formed in London for this purpose. See North Borneo Annual Report 1956 (Jesselton 1957): 148.

⁴³ The Kadazandusun in Labuk, identified as Kadazan Labuk, includes the Kadazandusun in Telupid and Nangoh.

⁴⁴ The Kadazandusun in Kinabatangan comprised of different sub-ethnic groups such as Makiang, Sinabu, Kalabuan, Minokok, Mangkaak and others.

⁴⁵ Some of the Kadazandusun families in Segama originally came from Kuamut, Milian in the Kinabatangan area. Thus, the Kadazandusun Segama language is mutually intelligible with the Upper Kinabatangan language. The Kadazandusun who originally are from Segama identify themselves as Dusun Subpan and they speak a different language and have their own distinctive religio-cultural practices compared to those who originally came from Kuamut, Milian.

⁴⁶ In 1960, the President of the Society of Kadazan declared that the word 'Dusun' should be changed to 'Kadazan' and stated, 'Dusun is an imported word and the name was first used by traders along the coast and by the Brunei overlords and then accepted by the Chartered Company as the generic name for the Kadazan people. Dusun means people of the countryside, people who plough the land'. Due to this connotation, many inclined to use the word in what may be said to be a derogatory sense and therefore many of the educated Kadazan particularly in the West Coast (Penampang, Putatan Dan Papar) prefer to be called Kadazan. Stephens, 'Dusun or Kadazan' in North Borneo News and Sabah Times 30 June 1960.

⁴⁷ The indigenous ethnic group living in Penampang, Putatan and Papar identify themselves as Kadazan.

Kinabatangan refer to themselves as ‘Orang Sungai’ (literally ‘people of the river’), whereas the indigenous ethnic group in Labuk address themselves as Kadazan Labuk, and the indigenous ethnic group in Segama identify themselves as Dusun Segama. Linguistically, these three ethnic groups belong to the Paitanic family because they live along the Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama rivers in the East coast of Sabah. The Dusun Segama are often identified as ‘Orang Sungai’ rather than Kadazandusun due to their geographical location and language. However, they are not Muslims as are the ‘Orang Sungai’ residing in Sukau and Bukit Garam.⁴⁸ Although the three ethnic groups in Sabah come from the same ethnic race, they differ in language, certain aspects of culture and religious rites.

To set the context of this chapter, it is important to study the religious and cultural background of the indigenous peoples of Sabah in order to highlight the predominant features of their life and spirituality. Furthermore, without this understanding one cannot address their needs as Christians. Nor has it been collected elsewhere when setting the background context for understanding inculturation in this context. Although there are various indigenous ethnic groups in Sabah, I focus on the three indigenous ethnic groups located in Labuk, Kinabatangan and Segama due to the fact that the initial mission of the Anglican Church to the indigenous peoples of Sabah was among them. The other indigenous ethnic groups in Sabah were evangelized by different mission organizations from Europe and Australia. The Roman Catholic Church⁴⁹ evangelized the Kadazandusun residing in the West Coast,⁵⁰ covering Penampang,⁵¹ Putatan, Papar, Tambunan, Tuaran,⁵² and Tamparuli. Both the Roman Catholic Church and the Borneo Evangelical Mission⁵³ evangelized the Kadazandusun residing in Kota Belud,

⁴⁸ ‘Orang Sungai’ literally mean people of the river. This ethnic community reside along the Kinabatangan River, particularly in Sukau and Bukit Garam. They are distinguished from the Kadazandusun since majority of them have converted to Islam.

⁴⁹ In 1881, the Mill Hill Missionaries began their work in Sarawak and Sabah.

⁵⁰ There are 5 divisions in Sabah (1) the West Coast Division consisting of Kota Belud, Kota Kinabalu, Papar, Penampang, Putatan, Ranau and Tuaran; (2) the Interior Division consisting of Beaufort, Nabawan, Keningau, Kuala Penyu, Sipit, Tambunan, Tenom; (3) the Kudat Division consisting of Kota Marudu, Kudat and Pitas; (4) the Sandakan Division consisting of Beluran, Kinabatangan, Sandakan and Tongud, and (5) the Tawau Division consisting of Kunak, Lahad Datu, Semporna, and Tawau. During the British rule, each district was under a resident. Later when Sabah became part of Malaysia in 1963, the term ‘resident’ became district officer.

⁵¹ The Kadazandusun in Penampang, Putatan and Papar identify themselves as Kadazan.

⁵² The Kadazandusun in Tuaran identify themselves as Dusun Lotud.

⁵³ The Borneo Evangelical Mission, which later merged with Overseas Missionary Society began their mission in Sarawak in 1928 and extended to Sabah in 1937.

Kundasang and Ranau. The Murut⁵⁴ residing in the interior parts of Sabah covering Keningau, Tenom and Pensiangan accepted Christianity through the mission work of the Basel Mission, formerly known as the Borneo-Basel Self-Established Church,⁵⁵ and the Borneo Evangelical Mission or *Sidang Injil Borneo (SIB)*. Likewise, the Lundayeh in Sipitang⁵⁶ embraced Christianity as a result of the mission work of the Borneo Evangelical Mission and the Basel Mission whereas the Rungus in Kudat accepted Christianity through the mission work of the Basel Mission/Protestant Church of Switzerland.⁵⁷

3. EARLY INHABITANTS IN SABAH

Herman J. Luping claims that the earliest people to inhabit prehistoric Sabah were Kadazan (Dusun).⁵⁸ Evans, a pioneer British anthropologist, ethnographer and archaeologist, who worked in Peninsular Malaysia and North Borneo (Sabah) in the early twentieth century states, ‘It seemed that the Dusuns are the original inhabitants of the country, and the Bajaus and Illanuns, both Proto-Malayan peoples, are later arrivals who have driven the first-named inland.’⁵⁹ Furthermore, Evans asserts, ‘The results of the 1911 census show how enormously the Dusuns preponderate in numbers over any other division of the natives.’⁶⁰ The Kadazandusun have their own myths regarding their origin depending on their region. For instance, the Kadazandusun believed traditionally that the descendants of *Kinoringan* and *Suminundu* were supernatural beings or gods who once lived under a tree known as *Nunuk Ragang* (red banyan tree). According to

⁵⁴ The Murut ethnic group comprised different sub-ethnic groups according to their geographical locations: Keningau Murut, Bookan, Gana, Kalabakan, Okolod, Paluan, Selungai, Sembakung, Serudung, Tagal, Tenggara, Tidung and Timugon. See *Indigenous Groups of Sabah: An Annotated Bibliography of Linguistic and Anthropological Sources*, compiled by Hans J. B. Combrink, Craig Soderberg, Michael E. Boutin and Alana Y. Boutin in 2008.

⁵⁵ The Basel Christian Church of Malaysia began in 1882 when a group of Hakka Chinese Christian labourers from Mainland China landed at Kudat. It had its first centre in Kudat and its work confined to the Chinese.

⁵⁶ Some of the Lundayeh ethnic group belong to the Basel Christian Church of Malaysia, which is one of the four Lutheran bodies in Malaysia.

⁵⁷ The Borneo Basel Self-Established Church (Lutheran) was originally a Swiss Christian Society. In 1952, the Basel Christian Church requested the Basel Missionary Society to establish a mission among the Rungus people.

⁵⁸ The indigenous peoples especially the Kadazandusun are considered of Mongoloid stock and sometimes believed to have come to Borneo from Indo-China and the Philippines or China. See Baker 1962: 9.

⁵⁹ Evans 1923: 1.

⁶⁰ Evans 1990/1922: 35.

this myth, these two supreme beings were husband and wife who begot children, the ancestors of the different ethnic groups of Kadazan in Sabah.⁶¹

There are many traditional stories about the belief systems of the Kadazandusun that are not documented and only transmitted through oral tradition. These stories are quite similar and yet distinct from each other depending on each particular ethnic group. Evans wrote:

The Dusuns are not a single tribe, but an assemblage of tribes, or rather the appellation embraces large numbers of village communities, some of which can be grouped together as closely related owing to identity in dialect and minor details of custom, while the whole of them are roughly classed together as Orang Dusun, owing to their similarity in language, beliefs and general habits.⁶²

The Kadazandusun are a distinctive people who shared an animistic belief system that provided a variety of religious customs and practices. This religious system is closely related to their staple food, rice, and rituals to maintain the balance and harmony between human beings, food and environment. The balance provided the conditions for successful cultivation and harvest for an agricultural people who cultivated wet and hill rice for sustenance. The languages spoken by the Kadazandusun are quite similar and belong to the Dusunic language family, with variations of dialects.

In view of the various myths related to the religious beliefs of the Kadazandusun people, they believe that there is a direct and continuing relationship between the events of daily life and a complex world of good and evil, supernatural beings and unseen forces. Their culture and religious beliefs are complex and yet interrelated. They believe that proper ritual and ceremonial acts can mediate between humans and supernatural beings and forces to modify, or even to control events that cause humans to fall ill, be uncertain, lose their luck, feel pain, or become fearful.⁶³

⁶¹ Luping, 1994: 3. See also Fr. A. G. Lampe, 'The Kadazan', Borneo Society Journal No. 3, July 1962: 4-8.

⁶² Evans, 1990/1922: 35.

⁶³ The first generation Christians whom I interviewed asserted that even before the coming of Christianity, they already acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being who was in control of the universe and therefore to be revered.

Traditionally, religious rites are presided over by the *bobohizan*,⁶⁴ the female ritual specialists or the Shamans of Sabah⁶⁵ who play an important role in performing the cultural rituals of the Kadazandusun. As a matter of fact, they are the authorities on the socio-spiritual and communal life of the Kadazandusun people. They are also the resource persons for the Kadazandusun ethnic community in all matters pertaining to cultural knowledge and practices; they are intermediaries between humans and divinities, healers and performers of cultural rites and ceremonies of the human stages of life such as birth, marriage, sickness, death and life beyond this world. The *bobohizans* are regarded as the guardians of the life cycle of the staple crop (rice) of the Kadazandusun people as well as keepers and propagators of various multi-purpose plants and food resources.⁶⁶

Although the cultural rituals and religious ceremonies vary from one ethnic group to another, the underlying basic belief is similar – they recognized one sole creator, the Supreme Being, *Kinoringan*, who has a wife called *Munsummundok* or *Suminundu*.⁶⁷ *Kinoringan* is revered as sovereign or ‘the one above’ or *osondu*.⁶⁸ According to the indigenous peoples’ traditional religious beliefs, *Kinoringan* and *Munsummundok* do possess human attributes but yet are distinct from human beings because they are both omnipotent and live somewhere in the sky or *kadawangan*.⁶⁹ As creators of the universe, *Kinoringan* and *Munsummundok* are responsible for their creation. The people fear them as gods of wrath who need to be appeased to avoid any form of vengeance, particularly when human beings perform certain acts that cause them rage.⁷⁰ This indicates that the Kadazandusun people are obliged to live a righteous life, pleasing to their gods and the spirits. They also recognize the spirits of the dead, the living, and demons. The rice spirit, *bambaazon* is especially important to the indigenous peoples due to its significance to their livelihood.

⁶⁴ *Bobohizan* or *bobolian/babalian* were predominantly female ritual specialists. Whelan1968.

⁶⁵ In Kinabatangan, the *babalian*’s main role is to perform healing ceremony. Based on my personal communication with a former evangelist and son-in-law of a former *babalian* in Kinabatangan on 13 May 2012.

⁶⁶ Based on my personal communication with a former *bobohizan* or *bobolian*’s son and daughter..

⁶⁷ Some of my respondents did not mention that *Kinoringan* has a wife but acknowledged *Kinoringan*’s dominance over creation.

⁶⁸ *Osondu* refers to one who is sovereign, majestic, powerful and reverent.

⁶⁹ The word *kadawangan* literally means ‘a huge open space above’ or perhaps ‘galaxy’ and it is perceived as ‘heaven’.

4. THE RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

According to the census of 1951, the religion of the people in Borneo⁷¹ was classified as Christian, Muslim, 'other' and 'none', of which 'none' refers to the indigenous peoples' belief or 'to mean pagans'⁷², associated with animism. As stated in the previous section, animism is the worldview held by the indigenous peoples of Sabah, including the Kadazandusun. This religious system centres largely on the Kadazandusun people's livelihood and rituals so as to maintain the balance, order and harmony between them and their environment, which consequently provide conditions for bountiful cultivation and harvests. Those who have adopted Islam⁷³ or Christianity have often retained features of the traditional religion. Sometimes these still have deep spiritual significance, while other elements remain cultural markers of importance, even though divested of their religious meaning.

During the pioneering stage of the Anglican Church in Sabah, most of the indigenous Christians practised both Christianity and animistic traditional religion. They refused to forsake the gods and the spirits of their ancestors out of fear and continued practising the rituals and ceremonies. Fear of the spirits is deeply rooted in the lives of the indigenous peoples and as a result, they believe and practice different kinds of rituals in order to prevent taboos.⁷⁴ In the Sabah context, animism refers to the beliefs of the indigenous peoples inherited from their ancestors, together with culture and practices.⁷⁵ They believe that personalized and supernatural beings dwell in ordinary objects including animate beings. These beings and objects govern their

⁷⁰ The Kadazandusun people traditionally believe in one god, the Creator, *Kinoringan*. The main character in their creation story is *Kinoringan*.

⁷¹ The religion census in 1921, 1931 and 1951 showed the following religious distribution: Christians 2.7%, 3.9%, 8.7%; Muslims 31.8%, 32.1%, 34.5%; other religions 13%, 15.3%, 16.5%; pagans 52.5%, 48.7%, 40.3%. Baker 1962: 16.

⁷² Baker 1962: 16.

⁷³ Islam came to Sabah in the fifteenth century based on a *Jawi* manuscript in *Idahan* language dated 1408. It gives an account of an *Idahan* man, Abdullah in Darvel Bay who embraced Islam.

⁷⁴ Fear of death haunts the indigenous people. Death is understood as the result of disobedience or lack of reverence to *Kinoringan*. *Death can also be the attack of the malevolent spirits directly or indirectly through mediums if they fail to offer the sacrifices that are due.*

⁷⁵ See 1871.

existence and are therefore to be revered and to be feared. They are convinced that everything has life and is conscious since everything has a soul. For instance, not only human beings possess souls but also the animals and the plants. Furthermore, they are convinced that the mountains, oceans, rivers, lakes and forests have spirits. The world is considered as a community of living entities in human or other forms. Due to this concept, the indigenous peoples attempt to relate respectfully with all entities including people, rocks, plants, animals, birds and ancestral spirits. This results in their being very conscious of their actions, words and thoughts. Their actions, words and thoughts should always be in harmony with their way of life in order not to offend any of the spirits because there will be imbalance in the universe if one or more of the spirits is offended by their actions, words or thoughts. Thus, the indigenous people are gentle, calm and respectful of one another and towards other living beings or living things in order to keep the environment and universe in peace, harmony and order – *ohusian*, respect for the environment and *oguhian*, respect for one another.

The beliefs and religious practices of the indigenous people vary from place to place but the degree of uniformity is impressive. There are features common to all. According to the study of many linguists, the indigenous peoples in Sabah speak Austronesian languages. The complex ethnic diversity reflected in the religions rooted in each indigenous ethnic community contributes much to their identity. Although the culture of the indigenous peoples in Sabah reveals wide variation, nonetheless, there are features that are common to all and practised by all.

*Adat*⁷⁶ is part of the culture of the indigenous peoples and is valued highly among the different ethnic groups because it is regarded as an important aspect in the life of the society that holds and integrates each community in every geographical location. There is even a well-known saying which stresses the importance of *adat* in sustaining a community and preserving its reputation: *biar mati anak jangan mati adat*, an idiom in the Malay language, which literally *means* let a child die rather than *adat*. It indicates that *adat* has to be preserved and esteemed.

Although the indigenous ethnic groups were generally non-literate in the past, their culture, reflected in *adat* is perpetuated through oral tradition. Thus, *adat* becomes

⁷⁶ *Adat* and its significance will be discussed later in this chapter.

one of the cultural elements that play an important and integral role in their communities. According to Biernatzki, a society cannot exist without culture, which is the system of common understandings about meanings, values, rules and norms, and he asserts that without culture, the social life of any society would soon deteriorate into chaos, and the members of the social group would soon either destroy each other or abandon each other to die of neglect.⁷⁷ He adds that, one of the most important effects of culture is to give each individual a worldview, which is objective and stable for the individual and forms the person's sense of self-identity.⁷⁸ Therefore, by maintaining and appreciating the *adat* system, the social life of the Kadazandusun society is expected to be in order and balance. Furthermore, each member of the community is intended to be accountable to one another in order to maintain peace and harmony. Direct confrontation, which normally causes conflict between individuals, families or ethnic groups, is not encouraged. It is therefore the role of the *adat* bearers or elders in the community to mediate and advise based on the *adat* system.

4.1 Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Indigenous Peoples

4.1.1 Cosmology

The indigenous peoples of Sabah believe that a supreme being created the universe, referring to their God as the Creator, ruler of the universe, or 'the One above the sky'.⁷⁹ The concept of the universe varies from one ethnic group to another. For instance, the Rungus ethnic group believes that there are seven layers of the universe governed by different celestial spirits and the Lotud ethnic group believes that there are seven spiritual layers above the physical world. The Kadazandusun people have developed a number of legends and names to explain what they see and experience in the physical universe around them including stories of the origin of the sun and moon, or names for the stars and the like. The worldview of the Kadazandusun people draws on their understanding of the natural forces explained below that impact their lives.

⁷⁷ Biernatzke, *Roots of Acceptance: The Intercultural Communication of Religious Meanings*, Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, 1991: 17.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 21.

⁷⁹ Most probably, it is natural for the indigenous peoples of Sabah who have embraced Christianity to address God as the Creator and God the ruler due to their concept of God.

4.1.2 Sun and Moon

The Kadazandusun in Labuk traditionally believed that the sun and moon were originally a mother and a son who were separated for many years. They were reunited in another earth where they fell in love because they did not recognize one another anymore. Upon realizing their mother-son relationship later in life, the wife (mother) decided to get a divorce to avoid bringing shame and disaster or 'heat' to the community.⁸⁰ But her husband (son) opposed her and preferred to conceal the real situation to avoid shame and this led to unhappiness and severe arguments. Finally, the wife ran away to the end of the earth and turned into the sun and the husband became the moon.⁸¹ The different ethnic groups in Sabah each have their own stories regarding the sun and moon. Despite the variation of their stories, they all acknowledge that the sun and moon are significant in discerning the seasons for cultivation and some major events in the cycle of life of all the indigenous peoples.

4.1.3 Stars

Each star is given a specific name linked to its function. The major stars that are significant to the indigenous peoples are *minsoguvang* or morning star, *mamalatik*, 'calendar stars' and *Mamalatik* means 'a spear trap', which together with several other stars give the appearance of a pig's jaw in the sky. It is believed that that a pig was once trapped and shot but not consumed and therefore became rotten and the worms turned into stars near the *mamalatik* called 'calendar stars'. Both the *mamalatik* and the 'calendar stars' are used to recognize the time for planting. *Butitin* were used as signs to discern when some cases of incest happened in the community, and the like. In the past, every star had its own story or legend that provided a certain sign or guidance for the life of the community.

4.1.4 Eclipses

The Kadazandusun people were also very much influenced by eclipses of the sun and moon. They were terrified by eclipses and performed specific rituals out of fear that the

⁸⁰ 'Heat' or *alasu* happens due to misconduct such as incest. As a result of one's misconduct, the whole community are affected in the form of disaster or illness.

⁸¹ Hurlbut, 'Traditional Beliefs of the Eastern (Labuk) Kadazan People', Sabah Museum and Archives Journal 1 (1), (1986): 112-113.

eclipses would bring adversity to the world. For instance, during an eclipse of the moon, the whole community assembled and played their gongs, drums known as *tambur* or any instrument that produced loud sounds. Thus also chanted loudly summoning the dragon that they believed to have swallowed the moon so that it would vomit it out. Other stories indicate that the eclipses were caused by malevolent spirits who were in a rage due to misbehaviour of human beings or were signs signifying the coming of the end of the world.⁸²

4.1.5 Wind or Storm

Wind or storms were dreaded and were perceived to be associated with the rage of the malevolent spirits. For some, wind or storms were observed as signs or warnings of catastrophe due to 'heat', caused by misbehaviour such as incest in the community.

The indigenous peoples' concept of cosmology reveals that they respect the world around them and natural forces for guidance and self-understanding.

4.2 Concept of Creation

As stated earlier, the Kadazandusun peoples are a collective group of people, similar in many ways and yet different from one another. There are variations in their concept of creation. For instance, Evans wrote the creation account of the Tempasuk Dusun, which is distinctive from Kadazandusun in other regions.⁸³ Nonetheless, although there are differences, most believe that in the beginning a supreme being created the whole universe known as *Kinoringan*, who has a wife, *Suminundu* and a daughter, *Hominudun*. *Kinoringan* in his preparation for creation sacrificed his daughter by planting every part of her body to grow as rice for food for the Kadazandusun people. Thus, the Kadazandusun people are convinced that rice is sacred and most of their religious rituals are associated with rice and the rice spirits.

⁸² This is based on my conversations with elderly men and women in Segama and e-mail correspondences with friends in Labuk and Kinabatangan.

⁸³ Evans 1947: 374-377.

4.3 The Spirit World: God and Spirits

The Kadazandusun people believe in an extensive spirit world that is important in the major events in the cycle of life as well as in the cycle of rice cultivation. Even though they believe in a supreme being who created everything, they also attribute spirits to all living things in nature. The Kadazandusun people believed that the spirit world comprises five main categories of non-human beings: the creator or *Kinoringan*, malevolent spirits or *rogon*, souls of the dead or *tombiruvo*, helping spirits or *divato*, the rice spirit or *bambaazon*, and a race of small people or *binorit*.⁸⁴ According to their belief, these non-human beings or spirits play significant roles not only in the universe but also in the life of individuals and communities. For this reason, these different spirits are either to be revered or to be feared in order to maintain a balance between good personal and community fortune or misfortune on the part of the individuals and communities.⁸⁵

4.3.1 God the Creator – *Kinoringan*

The three regions, Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama, have their own term for God and the devil.⁸⁶ The creator or *Kinoringan/Kinorohingan/Kinoingan*, *Minamaal*⁸⁷ is a generic term used by the indigenous peoples to address their Supreme Being or God. In fact, before the coming of Islam and Christianity, the indigenous peoples were not too concerned about the ontological definitions of the word ‘God’ as a transcendent being because they were more involved in the living of the present, their daily lives. *Kinoringan*, is used to contrast with, *rogon*⁸⁸ or *mainat*,⁸⁹ the devil – the good and the evil. The indigenous peoples believe that *Kinoringan* and other celestial beings inhabit the upper world, the supernatural world. Furthermore, they recognize that *Kinoringan*, the creator God determines the order of the universe and any individual’s destiny. *Kinoringan* and the other celestial beings are helpful and not harmful to humans, in

⁸⁴ Ibid.114-117.

⁸⁵ Rose 2000: 114.

⁸⁶ God has many names according to locality and ethnic groups.

⁸⁷ Most of the indigenous people of Sabah refer to the Supreme God using these generic terms depending on their geographical locations. Most probably, it has something to do with their accent. However, the ethnic group in Segama, Lahad Datu address God as *Minama’al*.

⁸⁸ This is the Kadazandusun Labuk term for the devil and evil spirits.

⁸⁹ This is the Kadazandusun Segama term for the devil and evil spirits.

contrast to *rogon*,⁹⁰ the devil. In view of their strong belief in the spirit world, Kadazandusun people live in fear because they are always fearful of the devils that are associated with darkness and the unknown. As Swanston states:

We understood that they believed in a remote god (Kinaringan/Numa'al) who was the creator and was good. However, they could not speak to him. Instead, they were fearful of malevolent spirits who inhabited the trees and rocks etc. and who could cause damage to them if they did not appease them in some way. They were the cause of illness, which was dealt with Berjin ceremonies and all that went with them. They were animists.⁹¹

4.3.2 Malevolent Spirits – *rogon* or *mainat*

As indicated above, belief in the spirit world is an important characteristic of the Kadazandusun culture. The people believe in both good and bad spirits and relate their activity to good or poor health and order and balance in life. The *rogon* or *mainat* are spirits of both the natural and social world. They are the terrestrial spirits that inhabit the same world as human beings and are believed to dwell on mountains, in the valleys, rivers, lakes, rocks, caves, dark places,⁹² on trees, especially red banyan trees called *Nunuk Ragang*,⁹³ in the forest, and almost everywhere. Like human beings, they have families and are engaged in the same activities as human beings. Cognitively, they are omnipresent and they are terribly dangerous and threatening to lives of human beings. Invading the dwelling places or territories of the *rogon* or *mainat* can cause disaster, misfortune, infertility or illness. The afflictions of *rogon* or *mainat*, can only be removed by a sacrifice or *sogit* in the form of animals such as pigs and chickens so as to re-establish a state of harmony and order in the environment and reconciliation between human beings and the *rogon* or *mainat*.

The different types of evil spirits that dominate the life of the Kadazandusun people are categorized below:⁹⁴

⁹⁰ *Rogon* is a collective noun. It is believed that rogon exist everywhere particularly in dark places. Children are often advised not to play once it is getting dark or in dark places. Likewise, adults need to perform a certain ritual whenever they go to unknown places.

⁹¹ Personal communication on 1 May 2009.

⁹² Dark place or *towong* are associated with evil, diseases, and sorcery or basically associated with death and impurity.

⁹³ The indigenous people of Sabah generally believe that the original settlement of the Kadazandusun is *Nunuk Ragang* (meaning red banyan tree) located at the intersection of the left and right branches of the Liwagu River to east of Ranau and Tambunan in Sabah.

⁹⁴ Hurlbut, 'Traditional Beliefs of the Eastern (Labuk) Kadazan People', in Sabah Museum and Archives Journal 1 (1), (1986): 111-171.

Andaau or *susumolod*, believed to be a couple (husband and wife). They are known for snatching away or harming newly born babies or toddlers due to envy. To protect newly born babies, the grandparents and parents give them nicknames to confuse the *andaau* or *susumolod*. Newly born babies and toddlers are protected by giving them linen bracelets containing certain elements from plants that have been ‘blessed’ by the traditional doctors and considered to have the power to cast away harmful spirits. Lime skin or specific kinds of dried leaves are hung on the doors of the house and on the cribs of the newly born babies or toddlers.

Balan-balan wander around looking for pregnant women for the purpose of harming their unborn babies. During delivery, the priestess performs a special ritual of protection and offers prayers to ensure both the woman and baby are safe from the *balan-balan* during pregnancy and birth.

Dalung/bonsongot – dwell in rivers, lakes or seas. They become furious when their territories are invaded by human beings and drown and kill them. There are certain spots in the rivers, lakes or seas, believed to have these spirits.

Pangkot – indistinct figure(s) red⁹⁵ in appearance, holding a burning piece of wood that react angrily if offended or if someone disturbs his or her territories.

Purud – has a long and sharp edged head(s). He/she has a fierce dog, *ulok-ulok*.

Rang am – wear red and white⁹⁶ garments. They hold a sharp spear and attack whoever goes out in the rain. For this reason, parents forbid children to play in the rain.

Sidut-sidut - cause babies to cry at night.

Tongkuwaya – exist in lightning and storm or during floods.

Totumolong – confuse people in the jungle when they are hunting.

There are other malevolent spirits that are not in the category of *rogon* or *mainat* and can become visible by embodying living creatures in order to snatch them away. It is

⁹⁵ Red symbols are associated with different kinds of blood: redness represents good blood (animal blood, shed by hunters) or bad blood (menstruation and murder).

⁹⁶ White symbols are associated with virtuousness, health, power and life, while ritual whiteness refers to harmony, continuity, purity, the manifest, and the legitimate. Red and white are associated with life. White symbolizes the preservation of life and red refers to the taking of life or bloodshed for the communal good ‘*sogit*’.

believed that there are animals or insects that are indwelt by malevolent spirits. In other cases, the spirit is considered to take on a temporary bodily form.

4.3.3 Good Spirits

4.3.3.1 Human Soul: *tatod* or *atod*

The indigenous peoples believe that a man or woman is made of physical body or *kojuwan/kaiwan*, soul and seat of emotions or *ginavo/inawo*. When a person dies, the soul and seat of emotions leave the body and together go to Mt. Kinabalu, the place of departed souls. However, the Kadazandusun in Segama believe that the soul of the dead go to a place high above the sky or *Kadawangan/Kawarangan*, meaning the heavenly place. They perceive the Sacred Being in relation to space.

Tatod or *atod*⁹⁷ are good spirits and are the guardians of proper cultural order in families. They can be appealed to by sacrificing animals such as chicken or pig. The indigenous peoples believe that every individual has and is protected by their *tatod* or *atod*. The *atod* or *tatod* symbolizes the life of a person. The existence of man or woman in the world means the existence of their *atod* or *tatod*. A man or a woman is believed to have seven souls or *tatod/atod* such as eyes, ears, head, feet, hands, heart and body. They are considered to be the real souls, associated with sickness and dreams. Furthermore, the indigenous peoples believe that *tatod/atod* is related to the shadow of the individual. Due to this concept, they believe that an assault upon the shadow of a person may be fatal to its possessor. For example, during the pre-Christian age, when a person wanted to kill someone, he or she could simply attack the shadow of that particular person or request a medium⁹⁸ to do so on his or her behalf. In addition, it is also a common belief that when a person is dead, his or her soul leaves the physical body. However, if the deceased is seen to have a physical body in a family members' dream, it is considered a bad sign and therefore extremely harmful. For that reason, to avoid it happening, it is important for the family members of the deceased to provide food and other material things such as gold, money, traditional musical instruments such as *gongs* and *kulintangan* for the deceased during the funeral, which is believed to be the beginning of a long journey home. By providing such things, the soul continues

⁹⁷ The indigenous ethnic group in Kinabatangan believe in two kinds of 'atod': *atod imbiruwoh no mainat* who is the evil spirit and *atod imbiruwoh no monuusia*, the spirit of every individual.

⁹⁸ Mediums are people who are knowledgeable in supernatural powers or magic and are able to manipulate the spirits.

its journey peacefully and therefore will not return to the dead body, which can be disastrous to the family and community.

The indigenous peoples believe that the *tatod/atod* or soul of a living person can leave the body temporarily and if this happens, the priest or priestess has to summon the *tatod/atod* to return to the physical body of the person concerned in order to prevent the person falling sick. On the other hand, there are people with supernatural powers that can send away the soul – their own or others so as to cause illness. If the soul does not return, the body will perish because the existence of the *tatod/atod* is essential.

The common belief is that the soul is invisible and only visible to the priests/priestesses or ritual healers who possess supernatural powers and are able to discern the spirits or souls moving about or endeavouring to escape from the body. The organ of detection is the ear, which can sense the motion of the soul's movement. If the soul has a human shape that leaves faint footmarks as indications of its presence then light ashes strewn on the ground may betray its presence to the keen-sighted medicine man or woman.

The human soul for the indigenous peoples is essential for life. In their understanding, the well-being of the body is dependent on a healthy spirit.

4.3.3.2 Divato or diwato

Divato or *diwato* are also good spirits. Their leader is called *Tangkavit*. They are helpful spirits and are perceived to look young and beautiful or handsome. Ritual specialists summon the *divato* during healing ceremonies – to help them to get back the soul or *atod/ tatod* of the sick person, believed to be captured by the malevolent spirits and taken away. Apart from helping ritual specialists to heal sicknesses, *divato* also play the role of guardian spirits. For instance, when a person is lost in the forest, the indigenous peoples believe that one of the evil spirits has deceived him or her. The person can call the *divato* or *diwato* for help by reciting a specific chant to rescue him or her. If a person does not return, then the person's family members would also call a spirit ritualist to summon the *divato*.

4.3.3.3 Charms for Protection

Charms are used by the indigenous peoples in a number of ways to protect themselves from malevolent spirits or the evil intention of others. There are different types of

charms such as: *panamparai* (a distinctive stone), *sopinit* (beeswax), (*komburongo* (dried roots of a special kind of plant used for healing), *jimat* or *arimo* (a piece of wood wrapped in a piece of cloth), *pongkolon* (a bone of tiny tree frog sewn in a piece of cloth and tied to the wrist), *tayub-ayub* (a kind of vine burned on the veranda, the strong smell of which will drive the malevolent spirits away) and *patung* or a kind of symbol (totem) made in the form of human body and face and placed at the river landing.⁹⁹ Spiritual ritualists prepare the charms of protection and individuals using these charms go through rituals and are required to observe specific taboos and sometimes abstinence from certain types of food. Rituals for protection

Apart from charms as stated above, the indigenous peoples also practice several rituals for protection from evil spirits and evil intent in their daily lives. The common rituals for protection are for: pregnant woman, a newly born, bride and groom, people going hunting and fishing or on a long journey, smoking beehives, taking oaths, rain-making or *magasab di tavan*, which literally means to smoke the sky and warfare.

4.3.3.4 Ritual Specialists – *bobohizan/bolijan/babalian*

The ritual specialists are called *bobohizan*, *bolijan* or *babalian* and they are considered the most significant religious practitioners. Their training takes place at a very early age. They memorize specific types of songs, chants or *rinait* from a senior *bobohizan* for years before they are acknowledged and accepted in the circle of ritual specialists. In the course of their training, they give payment called '*pikaras*' to the senior *bolijan*, who is their teacher. This may be in the form of money or chickens and other symbolic things. Once they have completed the course of the study, the final payment is in the form of a piece of special clothing so that the good spirits know that they have learnt all the chants. The good spirits are summoned in prayer to give 'blessings' and to acknowledge the new *bolijan*. Then the newly qualified *bolijan* presents a sharp bush-knife to their teacher. The sharpness of the knife symbolises a 'sharp' memory for the new *bobohizan*. *Bobohizans* are prohibited from drinking alcohol such as the rice wine or *tapai* as this may cause them to forget the chants required for the healing rituals. It is important for the ritual specialists or *bobohizans* to use different combinations of sacrifices and chants for every healing ceremony. Music is believed to provide the

⁹⁹ Hurlbut, 'Traditional Beliefs of the Eastern (Labuk) Kadazan People', Sabah Museum and Archives Journal 1 (1) (1986): 129-131. This is also based on my own observations as an indigenous person and

means through which the physical and spiritual worlds meet. Thus every healing ceremony is accompanied by the beating of gongs.

4.3.3.5 Ritual Healers

Ritual healers play a very important role in the community life of indigenous peoples and there are various types of ritual healers. Some ritual healers rely on the help of the spirits in performing healing and others acquire special arts or skills used for healing.

4.3.3.6 Healing Ritual

The type of healing ritual depends on the kinds and nature of sickness. There are different types of healing ceremonies such as *magandavai*, *timpadang*, *monumbui*, *mongorimpun do tatod*, *monguok* and *sulau*.¹⁰⁰

During these healing ceremonies, the ritual healers use certain objects that have symbolic religious implications. Each healing ceremony has a distinct chant accompanied by gongs and rituals, performed by the ritual healer alone or with other ritual healers. This may even involve the family members of the sick person. Kadazandusun in Segama and in Kinabatangan call such healing ceremonies *gadi'in/berjin*¹⁰¹ and *mamiau* respectively.

Mongubit is a type of healing practised by both women and men, who are not necessarily *bobohizan* and have received less training. In the healing ceremonies they conduct, no sacrifice is involved. *Mongubit* refers to removing a sharp pain from the patient's body by sucking out sharpness. The patient is expected to pay the ritual specialist based on the number of things that have been sucked out from the sore spot.¹⁰²

personal conversations with indigenous peoples in Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama.

¹⁰⁰ For further discussion on these various healing ceremonies, see Hurlbut, (986): 148-153.

¹⁰¹ Prior to the coming of missionaries and until the early years of mission work in Segama, the *gadi'in/berjin* healing ceremony was very influential and there were a number of recognized ritual healers who were antagonistic to Christianity.

¹⁰² These can be in the forms of bits of wire, nails, worms, insects, threads, stone, house lizard and even leeches.

4.4 Traditional Religious Rites and Experiences of Indigenous Peoples

The rites and ceremonies of the indigenous peoples of Sabah vary from place to place. In the past the ethnic communities resided in different parts of Sabah and were isolated from one another. They used oral tradition to pass on their religious beliefs and practices. From one perspective, the Kadazandusun religion might be considered as monotheistic since there is a belief in a Supreme Being. But since their religious practices focus on pleasing and appeasing spirits animism is a more appropriate category.¹⁰³ Thus Owen Rutter¹⁰⁴ wrote:

Although the pagans [sic] are, up to a point, monotheists, animism plays an important part in their daily lives. For them almost every rock and tree and stream has a spirit,¹⁰⁵ usually of evil, to be propitiated. Most sickness, certainly all epidemics, such as cholera and smallpox are the work of the spirits.¹⁰⁶

4.4.1 Sense of Sacrifice - *Sogit*

Sacrifice is a universal motif in the mythologies of many traditions and religions. It is universally understood as the offering to the deity as an outward manifestation of atonement of member of the community or the whole community.

Accordingly, sacrifice is the core of the Kadazandusun culture. *Sogit* is a Kadazandusun word for sacrifice or atonement. It is implemented to make retribution for an offence, crime or sin committed by a person against another person. Like many other indigenous cultures, the objects of sacrifice are animals. They were sacrificed to appease a god or gods or for changing the course of nature. The Kadazandusun believe that the imbalance between the physical and spirit worlds are depicted in the concept of *alasu* or *ma'amut* (hot) and *osogit* or *asagit* (cold) in nature. *Alasu* or *ma'amut*, meaning a 'hot' state refers to a situation where tragedy, sufferings, death or bad luck prevails. Thus bad things are 'hot' or *alasu/ma'amut*, whereas good things are 'cold' or *osogit* or *asagit*. In order to restore the balance between a hot and a cold state, the ritual of *sogit* is performed. The offering of *sogit* such as the blood of animals is poured in the

¹⁰³ Phelan, 'The Form of Priesthood in the Kadazan (Dusun) System of Religion', The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland No. 1, 1983: 55.

¹⁰⁴ Rutter 1929.

¹⁰⁵ These spirits are called *penunggu* or watchmen who are responsible to protect God's creation.

¹⁰⁶ Phelan, 'The Form of Priesthood in the Kadazan (Dusun) System of Religion'. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 1, 1983: 55-73).

river that provides water for the fields and drink to the community. Otherwise *sogit* in the form of money or animals has to be paid. To keep peace, harmony and unity in a community, *sogit* or *sagit* must be paid both to human beings and to spirits due to wrongs or offence done to them. It is a ‘cooling’ compensation for the purpose of peace and reconciliation both between individuals, families, ethnic groups, communities, as well as with the spirits. It is worth noting that the desire for tolerance as well as peace and reconciliation has prevented tribal wars and ethnic conflict.

However, the offering does not become a sacrifice or *sogit* until a real change has happened to the visible gift, for instance, in the actual slaying of an animal, shedding its blood, burning it, or pouring it out. Nor is the offering perceived as an act of worship or adoration offered to the devil. Rather it is made to appease the devil’s anger for human negligence or disobedience.

There are three types of *sogit* ceremonies performed by the priests or priestess. First, rituals connected with cultivation since indigenous people have strong ties with the land. There are six kinds of sacrifice or *sogit* ceremonies for land. They are *mongondi* (a ceremony for a new land), *monogit do tana* (sacrifice for the land at planting time, which literally means to cool off the ground), *monogit do puun parai* (sacrifice for rice plants, *meaning* to cool off the rice plants), sacrifice for the ripening grain, sacrifice at the beginning of harvest and sacrifice at the end of harvest ‘*mangalum raami*’. Second, communal *sogit* ceremonies, which are intended to pacify the whole village or community. For instance, *sogit* is performed when incest happens in a family, or when a child is conceived or born of out wedlock. Third, personal ceremonies for appeasing a single individual or household, such as sacrifice for a house, to heal a kind of sickness, to protect from bad dreams, bad omens and bad luck.

The offerings of sacrifices imply that the indigenous peoples view life and well-being of people in the community as interconnected with the spirit world and nature. Life is perceived to be very vulnerable to the spirits. To maintain peace and harmony not only with the spirits but also within the community, nature or the environment, sacrifice or *sogit* is offered. Accordingly, Rousseau asserts that:

Rituals whether public or private, whether practised by lay people or religious specialists, are communicative events: participants are engaged in dialogue with supernatural beings

whom they inform of their activities and needs, and from whom they seek help or at least an absence of malevolence.¹⁰⁷

Reflecting on Rousseau's statement, it is evident that the *sogit* ritual is both a religious and social ceremony. It has both spiritual and social implications for the lives of the community and is therefore passed on from one generation to another.

4.4.2 Dreams

Like other indigenous peoples in different parts of the world, dreams are another representative motif in the belief of the Kadazandusun peoples. According to Campbell, a 'dream is a personal experience of that deep, dark ground that is the support of conscious lives, and a myth is the society's dream.'¹⁰⁸ The Kadazandusun people believe that *Kinoringan* communicates with the people in the community through dreams, normally related to good and bad events. Dreams can be warnings about floods, famines, epidemics, and misfortune. Dreams may also portend a bad choice of spouse or bad marriage. Dreams can give directions or guidance for making an important decision such as choosing the name for a new born baby, finding the best wife or husband for a marriageable child, determining the time and day of an engagement, a wedding or choosing the suitable day and site for planting rice. It can also give approval for travel, to go hunting and to build a house. In order to discern the interpretation of a dream, a *bobohizan* is called to perform ritual sacrifice using animal's blood to ensure the order and harmony of the cosmos and society. Dreams still influence the life of the indigenous peoples. They reflect the relationship between *Kinoringan* and the community, and the relationship of the community with *Kinoringan* and different types of spirits.

4.4.3 Rites of Passage

Cultural actions that symbolically mark the transition of a person from one stage or phase to another in the life cycles are called rites of passage. Such rituals mark rites of separation, transition, and aggregation. They are important concepts for analysing the rites of passage and are considered as spatial or temporal snapshots of processes through which a person and groups are formed and transformed. According to Van Gennep,

¹⁰⁷ Rousseau 1998: 39.

¹⁰⁸ Campbell 1988: 48.

there is a succession of stages with similar ends and beginnings in an individual's life: birth, childhood, puberty, betrothal, marriage, pregnancy, fatherhood, motherhood, initiation into religious societies, and funerals. He adds that, a man's life resembles nature, from which neither the individual nor the society stands independently. The universe itself is governed by a periodicity which has repercussions on human life, with stages and transitions, movement forward, and periods of relative inactivity.¹⁰⁹

Likewise, Hiebert asserts that rites are often associated with major changes in roles in the course of a lifetime, and they serve important functions in adjustment, for both societies and individuals. For society, rites announce changes in status and provide for reorganization of the society and its goods if affected. Rites are also important occasions for society to reaffirm its values and beliefs.¹¹⁰ Moreover, Hiebert claims that rites of passage assist the individual undergoing role changes to adjust psychologically to his or her new status, by giving him or her an opportunity to learn and practice his or her new role and by providing him or her with the support of the community. In view of that, either in celebration or mourning, this interaction of individual and community strengthens the individual's place within the community.¹¹¹

The indigenous peoples of Sabah, like other peoples in different parts of the world, recognize rites of passage by holding numerous traditional beliefs and practices such as the birth, naming and dedication of a child, puberty, betrothal, marriage, death and burial. Some of the rites of passage are no longer observed since the coming of Christianity. However, rites of passage are significant because each individual is believed created by *Kinoringan* and therefore obliged to show reverence by observing the religious rituals and prohibitions, which have been practised from generation to generation. One's life begins during conception in the mother's womb. The relationship between the foetus and the Creator begins from that moment. It is therefore important for the mother and father of the child to be sensitive and respectful of the good spirits, viewed as the guardians of the child. The mother also has to be aware and observe all the taboos to protect the child from being harmed by the malevolent spirits.

¹⁰⁹ Van Gennep 1960: 3

¹¹⁰ Hiebert 1990: 174-5.

¹¹¹ Hiebert 1990: 175.

4.4.3.1 Pregnancy, Childbirth and Naming

Traditionally, Kadazandusun people hold numerous traditional beliefs and practices regarding birth, marriage, death and burial.¹¹² The indigenous peoples of Sabah value children highly. They are regarded as blessings and valuable possessions. Marriage is viewed as a means of procreation and every bride is expected to bear a child in the first year of the marriage. For this reason, infertility or barrenness is viewed as a curse or misfortune.

4.4.3.1.1 Fertility

There are various ways of looking at the cause of infertility and dealing with it. In a conversation with elderly women concerning infertility, I was informed that traditionally the mother-in-law consulted ritual specialists or midwives¹¹³ to perform a fertility ritual to discern the cause of the daughter-in-law's delayed pregnancy and to cast away the spills of evil spirits and to rebuke the evil intentions of others out of envy. Subsequently, the daughter-in-law was given charms of protection and advised to observe certain rituals.

There are other causes of delayed pregnancy or infertility such as the physical health of the woman; the ritual specialist or midwife will then refer her to a ritual healer or a traditional herbalist, who will diagnose her by examining her body and later prescribing the appropriate herbal medicine in the forms of roots or leaves of specific plants. The herbal medicine is normally prepared by the traditional herbalist and given to the woman the next morning if she has a good dream the night before. In order for the herbal medicine to be effective, the woman is supposed to give a *pikaras*, a gift, which can be in the form of money or other things. Nonetheless, if the woman does not bear a child after a year, she has no choice but to give consent to her husband to remarry but he is not to divorce his first wife.

During pregnancy, the woman has to go through certain rituals in order to avoid any attack from the malevolent spirits, who can be envious of the pregnant woman and the unborn baby. During the delivery, the midwife plays a significant role. Apart from

¹¹² Borneo Post 17 March 1996, Dr Fung Lan Yong, 'To be born, to wed and die the Dusun way'.

¹¹³ Midwives were normally regarded as a kind of ritualist since their training includes religious rites and they are believed to be able to communicate with the spirits.

her, the husband and other adult members of the family are present to attend to the woman if anything goes wrong. The midwife with the consent of the husband and wife, the husband, preferably, or either one of the parents of the woman or man will be responsible to cut off the umbilical cord. The umbilical cord is very important because it signifies life of the new-born baby and her or his relationship with the family and it is therefore, buried in a respectful way.

4.4.3.1.2 Birth

When a child is born, both parents present him or her to *Kinoringan* and the good spirits for the purpose of thanksgiving and asking for protection upon the child. A priest or priestess performs this ritual of initiation. The child's parents, grandparents and extended family attend the initiation and naming ceremony. In case a member of the family dreamt a name for the newly born baby, the parents consult a priest or priestess to interpret the meaning of the name. If the dream reveals that the given name brings a bad omen, the child will be given a different name or called by a nickname. Children may not learn their 'real' names until they begin school. It is a common practice for indigenous children to have nicknames based on animals, birds, or something that sounds funny. This practice avoids envy from the malevolent spirits. The child must not be named after the paternal or maternal grandparents, or grand uncles and grand aunts, nor given a name that sounds similar to any of these. In the Kadazandusun culture, a wife or a husband must never call the elders, including their parents and their parents' siblings, by their names. Otherwise, he or she is regarded as very disrespectful – *avusung* or *mausungan*.¹¹⁴ If an individual unconsciously or deliberately calls such elders by their names, the headman and the council members who are the elders in the community will summon the offender. The individual will be requested to apologise publicly and to pay a designated fine or *sogit*.

It is also a common practice to change a child or an individual's name at any stage of life due to sickness, tragedy or even bad dreams. This is done following consultations with a priest or priestess or a wise elder. An infant is regarded as being vulnerable to the spirits and has to be protected not only physically but also spiritually. The baby is given a specific charm for protection.

¹¹⁴ *Avusung* or *mausungan* is the consequence of being disrespectful.

4.4.3.2 Puberty

In the Kadazandusun culture, a girl reaches puberty on her first menstruation. This is considered a very significant phase of her life.¹¹⁵ As a fertile young woman and now eligible for marriage, she must refrain from mixing with boys.¹¹⁶ This avoids any misunderstanding regarding her reputation¹¹⁷ that may later affect her dowry.¹¹⁸ It is the responsibility of her mother, aunts and elder sisters to mentor and to teach her how to groom herself as a woman, and to take on the role and responsibilities required for marriage.¹¹⁹

According to the Kadazandusun culture, boys who reach puberty are obliged to be circumcised *mulambang* because it is the sign of manhood.¹²⁰ Like the girls who have reached puberty, the boys who have reached this phase of life are taught the role and responsibilities of becoming a man to enable them to lead in the community or society as well as preparing them to become a husband and a father. Traditionally the man was expected to be the breadwinner. Like most hunter-gatherer societies, the indigenous peoples in Sabah are egalitarian. Men and women are expected to perform their roles and tasks in the society according to their traditions in order to maintain order, balance and harmony in the family as well as in the community. These values of order, balance and harmony are integral to the Kadazandusun life until today.

¹¹⁵ Traditionally, there was a special ritual for the first menstruation.

¹¹⁶ According to the Dusun Segama culture, this is to avoid *sumbang*, meaning immoral relationship such as incest, fornication and adultery, which are viewed as serious offences. The *sogit* ritual has to be performed and the offenders will be penalized.

¹¹⁷ Virginity is viewed as the priceless gift of a bride to her groom and therefore to be preserved for the first night of a wedding. Due to its significance, the groom is allowed to divorce his bride if she is discovered to have lost her virginity.

¹¹⁸ The dowry or bride price is discussed between elders who act as representatives of the groom and bride families and it is the most significant process before a marriage can proceed in the Kadazandusun culture.

¹¹⁹ There are some rituals in preparing a girl who has reached puberty to become a woman. First, bathing her with water mixed with seven different kinds of flowers. Second, preparing a special kind of powder paste made of seven different kinds of bright and beautiful flowers which are dried seven days under the sun, seven different types of dried husk of fruits, seven kinds of selected dried tree barks. The powder paste is applied to her face and entire body. Third, preparing a special drink made from selected dried roots boiled for some hours. Although the drink is very bitter but it is believed to strengthen her body so that she will be fit to bear and deliver children later.

¹²⁰ *Mulambang* or circumcision is a very significant rite. *Mulambang* literally means making a sign. A boy who has reached puberty but has not had circumcision will be a laughing-stock and considered a coward. Traditionally, men in the community were to become brave warriors.

4.4.3.3 Betrothal and Marriage

Marriage is significant for the indigenous peoples in Sabah. It is a sign of adulthood and maturity. For that reason, an individual who has reached puberty is expected to marry and become a member of the community. It is regarded not only as the union of the bride and groom but of both families and the ethnic groups to which they belong. Thus, marriage is esteemed because it indicates the expansion of the family, ethnic group and the continuity of the generation.

In a traditional marriage, there are three main stages to be observed: inquiry, engagement and wedding. In each stage, not only the bride-to-be and groom-to-be are involved but also their families and most importantly, the council of elders and ritual specialist. The inquiry, engagement and wedding ceremony are performed according to the Kadazandusun's religious rituals and the *adat* system.

4.4.3.4 Funerals

The indigenous peoples fear death and regard it as a misfortune because it is a separation between the deceased and the living, a separation between two different worlds. Death is bad news and therefore considered as a sign that the evil spirit has brought evil or curse upon one's life and upon the family or community.¹²¹ The causes of death are varied such as trespassing on other people's lands, coveting or stealing neighbours' properties including someone's wife or fiancée, animals, harvest,¹²² or death by witchcraft in retribution for the sins of the family or a curse.

The Kadazandusun people believed that the *rusod/tatod/atod* (soul) of the departed first went to *Pongoluhan* or *Nabalu*,¹²³ or to a place high above and then moved on to the next life in an unknown place. They also believed that the departed could see the living. They could even be called up from their world if such needs arose by the priestess *bobolians* or *bobohizans*.¹²⁴ In the next life, the departed reunites with

¹²¹ The Kadazandusun, specifically those originated from Segama called death as *abar ara'ai*, meaning 'bad news for the evil has come.'

¹²² This is similar to the Ten Commandments stated in Exodus 20:13-17.

¹²³ The word '*Aki Nabalu*' means 'the revered place'. The Kadazandusun believed that Mount Kinabalu is the '*Aki Nabalu*' where all the souls of the deceased rested.

¹²⁴ *Bobolian* or *bobohizan* once held a very significant role in every aspect of the indigenous people life – from birth to planting and harvesting, illness and death. In 1996, a gathering of 40 *bobolians* or

family members who died before him or her.¹²⁵ The departed is also supposed to take with him or her possessions from earth. For that reason, during the funeral, there is a proper send-off in the forms of material things such as food, clothes, and some favourite items of the deceased, and it is perceived, that the more items the departed is given as a send-off, the easier the next life will be.

4.4.3.5 Mourning Ritual

During the funeral, the corpse is kept in a coffin, which normally is hewn out of a solid piece of *kayu belian* or ironwood and is of considerable value. The coffin is sealed after family members and relatives, and friends have said their parting words. In the past, it is normal for family members to show their emotions by crying aloud and by giving a ‘eulogy’ in a form of solemn songs. The coffin of the dead person will be kept in the house for some days until all family members and relatives from far and near have paid their last respect and said their parting words because the deceased is believed to go to the next world. Sometimes there are groups of mourners who take turns crying aloud near the coffin and saying the eulogy in a haunting rhythm or melody (*mangusui*), particularly if the deceased is a well-respected person in the community or had lived to a great age. The coffin is guarded tightly to prevent any animals especially black cats approaching it or jumping over in case the corpse would rise and turn into a malevolent spirit. People normally mourn for seven days and during the mourning period no music is allowed in the house. The neighbours are expected to observe the mourning period too as a sense of respect to the family of the deceased and those who fail to do so are penalised according to the *adat* system. During the seven days of mourning, the family members of the deceased, the spiritual ritualist and other people keep vigil the whole night. On the seventh night, lights are turned off and a ritual ceremony (*mangukas/karatub*) is performed. The priest or priestess communicates with the spirit of the deceased to give a sign to show that he or she is well on the other side. The sign is normally in the form of scratches on a plate of ash prepared for that purpose and placed in front of the door or it could simply be a ‘presence’ felt by the priestess or a

bobohizans was held in Sabah to pay a tribute to them for their contribution to the culture of Sabah. ‘Rare gathering of 40 priestesses’ in *New Straits Times*, July 23 1996 and ‘Our tribals better off – a tribute to the *Bobolian*’ in *Daily Express*, August 10 1996.

¹²⁵ Due to this belief, some elderly people refuse to embrace Christianity or other religions because they fear the separation from their loved ones who have gone before them.

member of the family, or it could be a sweet fragrance that was smelled by the people in the household. The family then burn all the belongings of the deceased so that he or she will never return since he or she is believed to be already in the next life¹²⁶ in another world.¹²⁷

Death is significant for the Kadazandusun because it is a continuation of life in the next world and a reunion with those in the spirit world. For this reason, the funeral and mourning periods must be performed according to the religious rituals.

4.5 Social Structure of the Community

Traditional occupations and tasks harmonise with the needs and interest of the community including food, which is obtained by working the land¹²⁸, gathering from the forests, fishing from the rivers and coastal areas. There is a need for artisans to construct tools for such subsistence-related work. Apart from that, there is also a need to look after the health of the community – the significant role of herbalist, priests/priestesses¹²⁹ and midwives. There is also a need for ensuring social order and the smooth administration of the village, giving rise to the roles of the council of elders and those who administer justice in native courts.

Besides meeting the material needs in the community, traditional occupations also came about and thrived because of a homogenous social environment, wherein everyone in the community held similar beliefs and concepts of social responsibility or *opuunan*. Before the coming of Christianity, Islam and other religions, the indigenous peoples held on to a traditional belief system and worldview based on the concept that all matter has a spirit therefore, and ought to be revered. Wrong-doings by members of the community will cause an imbalance or disorder in the environment, rendering it ‘hot’ (*alasu/mamut*) and resulting in tragedies, sickness and famine (barren earth). When this kind of incident happens, a priest or a priestess conducts spiritual healing

¹²⁶ The next life is perceived to have crowds of people because a lot of people have died. It is also regarded as reunion with other family members or relatives who have gone before.

¹²⁷ This is from my telephone conversation on 8 January 2010 with a couple aged late 40 and mid-50 years in Beluran (Labuk area).

¹²⁸ Land is understood as the symbol of unity of all living creatures, the spirits and the *Kinoringan*.

¹²⁹ In the Western part of Sabah, there are only priestesses but in the eastern part including Labuk, Kinabatangan and Segama, there are both priests and priestesses or *bobohizan/bobolian*. They serve as intermediaries between human beings and supernatural beings, both the celestial world as well as the terrestrial world, to alleviate afflictions such as disease, misfortune, infertility and crop failure.

ceremonies (*monogit*) to restore the balance and healthy condition of the universe and the immediate environment.

4.5.1 Traditional Customary Law or *adat*

Adat means ‘a native custom or body of native customs to which lawful effect has not been given thereto under any written law and shall be deemed to include tradition and culture of the natives’.¹³⁰ Prior to the coming of the British rule, the indigenous peoples in Sabah, specifically the Kadazandusun, were organised based on ethnic groups. Subsequently, *adat* governed or controlled the behaviour of each ethnic group community. Although *adat* varied from one ethnic group community to another, it formed a common universal base for all the Kadazandusun ethnic communities and was considered to be truth. In view of that, anyone in the community who disobeyed or ignored *adat* was severely punished in order to avoid divine punishment, through pestilence and crop failure.¹³¹

Today, the traditional customary law or *adat* is recognized by the Sabah state government to deal with concerns related to indigenous community life since it is proven to sustain and unite the Kadazandusun and other ethnic groups. Furthermore both the traditional customary law and the judicial system uphold traditional ideals of social responsibility, where the village heads and elders are respected and are constantly called upon to resolve conflicts that arise in the community. The priests, priestesses and elders help to fulfil the community’s need for spiritual and moral development.

Traditionally, there were four major institutions of authority governing each village or ethnic group community: the village chief or *ketua kampung*, the village council, the priests and priestesses and the descent community’s chief or *Huguan Siou*. Each village or community was a unit of administration managed by a council consisting of the headman, *ketua kampung* or *orang tua* and other respected elders. Respected members of the community were voted on to the council based on their knowledge of the customary law (*adat*). This embraced land and its uses, behaviour,

¹³⁰ See Sabah Laws: State-Attorney Chambers.

¹³¹ Woolley, Tuaran Adat: Some Customs of the Dusuns of Tuaran, West Coast Residency North Borneo. Native Affairs Bulletin 2. Jesselton: Government Printing Department, 1953a: 19.

social relationships, crimes and transgressions, and customs related to marriage, birth and death, derived from generations of experience and wisdom. They managed the administration of the community affairs, both at the village level and through the native court.¹³² Nowadays the State Public Service Commission appoints a headman to perform the function of a headman in a locality.

The traditional customary law or *adat* and judicial system with its concepts based on respect and integrity of the family and the Kadazandusun has practised community life for many decades through the council comprising village heads and elders mentioned above. The normal procedure is that village elders will openly discuss the problem and express their views to their *ketua kampung*, who then together with other *ketua kampung* will act as judge. The offender acts as his/her own lawyer. He or she is entitled to call his/her own witnesses. The punishment or *sogit*, or fine '*hukum*', imposed on the offender takes the form of money and animals. The purpose of the fine is to restore the integrity and pride of the individual concerned, of his/her family and the whole community, and to compensate for the shame he or she brought upon them.

There are different types of *sogit* as stated by the council in the native court of every village according to SABAH LAW: SCHEDULE (Section 29). See Appendix IV.

Traditionally most disputes arising among the indigenous ethnic groups have been settled through the processes of customary law, a body of unwritten rules and customs handed down from generation to generation which govern the people's relationships with each other. It is deeply rooted in the religious customs of the people. For instance, disputes involving family relationships such as divorce, dowry, inheritance, and related matters. Because of the nature of the disputes, conciliation, compromise, and arbitration before the headman and members of the council are significant aspects of customary legal procedure.

¹³² Personal communication with a headman in Segama, Lahad Datu on 10 January 2010.

4.5.2 Sense of Community (*Mogitabang*)

The indigenous peoples in Sabah practice communal life. In the past, *mogitabang* or *mutabang* was a strong tradition among the people. The word ‘*mogitabang*’ derives from the word ‘*tabang*’ meaning to help one another. For example, ‘*magitabang*’ is performed when a neighbour is starting a new field or building a new house. Likewise, *magitabang* is expected during a wedding and funeral. Each family in the community not only contributes their skills, energy and time to help but also contributes food and other things so as to lighten the burden of the host family.¹³³ In the Kadazandusun culture, *magitabang* is considered a significant virtue.

In a traditional Kadazandusun community, large families usually form the bulk of the workforce in carrying out farming activities. However, *mogitabang*, *mitabang* or *mutabang* (*gotong royong* in Malay language) is also an important part of the traditional work practice, particularly during planting and harvesting, building new houses, boats, and huts in the rice fields, or clearing the surrounding environment such as graveyards. When *mogitabang* cannot be organized, *mokitanud*, another traditional work practice, whereby help is sought from neighbours, who are willing to come forward to help the family concerned, is organized.

4.6 Rice Spirits and Rice Rites

Rice spirits and rice rites need independent attention because of their key cultural as well as religious significance, connected with creation rather than just the spirit world. Significantly, the indigenous peoples viewed rice as ritually important. They believe that rice spirits called *bambaazon/bambarayon* guard every family’s rice field. Moreover, they also believe that each rice grain has its own soul. The rice spirits or the *bambaazon/bambarayon* are considered good spirits and are believed to reflect the social order of a family. For instance, when a new child is born to a family, a new rice spirit comes into being. Besides, the rice spirits are closely associated with the life cycle of rice, the staple food of indigenous peoples.

Apparently, rice is not simply a staple food but also a sacred plant that embodies *bambaazon*, the living symbol of *Kinoringan*’s love and respect for his people. The

indigenous peoples of Sabah believe that there are seven to eight types of rice souls or *bambaazon/bambarayon*. The *ohinopot* are the chiefs and they are inexhaustible; the *ohimomod* protect and provide plenty of rice; the *sambilod* look after the broken rice; the *gontolobon* pile up the rice to please the *Gontolobon*; *both momiaud* and *momiuadan* give springs of water to rice, the *sompidut* give full grains in the ears, and the *kambang* make rice grains swell in the cooking pot.¹³⁴

The indigenous peoples in Sabah have traditionally lived by swidden cultivation, through a system known as rotational agriculture, in conjunction with the use of forest produce. For this reason, land is very significant to them.¹³⁵ Traditionally the Kadazandusun people were an agriculture community and their main crop was rice. In view of this, Evans wrote, ‘These tribes, especially the Dusun, are the best native agriculturalists in the country; they are, generally speaking, frugal and, at any rate at certain seasons of the year, extremely hard workers.’¹³⁶ It is undeniable that rice cultivation has always been significant in the lives of the indigenous peoples. For the Kadazandusun, rice has both social and religious implications. They traditionally practised two types of planting rice: wet rice and hill rice.

4.6.1 Rice Planting

There are different stages in rice planting. First, is clearing the plot of land, followed by the planting of the rice seeds, with the help of the neighbours and relatives (*mogitabang*).¹³⁷ The priest or priestess goes to the farthest end of the field at dawn to call the spirit of the rice and ask for consent, protection, and blessings. Then the event begins with a ritual of putting a big basket down in the middle of a big circle of all the people involved in planting the rice seeds. It is symbolic to ensure that the next harvest

¹³³ Sharing food is a very significant practice among indigenous peoples in Sabah. It is a symbol of accepting one another. Offering food such as a kind of dish or dessert to a new neighbour is a sign of acceptance and the beginning of a friendship.

¹³⁴ ‘Rice Rites of Dusuns’, Borneo Post, 26 May 1996.

¹³⁵ Land belongs to *Kinoringan* and it is part of the identity of a family and a valuable inheritance. For instance, land is a symbol of prosperity and honour. In view of this concept of land, certain indigenous ethnic groups include a piece of land as part of a dowry.

¹³⁶ Evans 1990/1922: 31.

¹³⁷ Before choosing and clearing a piece of land and choosing the day for rice planting, the elders in the family are to be sensitive to their dreams to make sure that the piece of land is not in the territory of the spirits, and the day chosen to plant the rice seeds is suitable and brings bountiful harvest.

will be bountiful. A ritual chant or *rinait* is performed and the event can then start. There are two groups consisting of men who punch the holes (hill rice) on the grounds using sharpened sticks, and women who will fill the holes with rice seed (*monumpos*).¹³⁸

4.6.2 Harvest Festival – *Tadau Kaamatan*

The Kadazandusun people traditionally believed that there is a particular element of sacredness attached to rice since it is a food given to them by *Kinoringan*, the supreme creator so that people will hunger no more. *Kinoringan* sacrificed his only daughter, *Huminodun* and from her body parts, rice grew. This was *Kinoringan's* ultimate act of benevolence and until now, the Kadazandusun people reciprocate the deed by performing various ceremonies to honour *bambaazon*, the spirit of *Huminodun* as embodied in rice.

Magavau is the most significant ritual conducted during *Tadau Kaamatan*. It is a special ritual to invite *bambaazon* (rice spirit) to the *Kaamatan* celebration and only *bobohizan* (priestesses) can conduct *Magavau*. For that reason, any *Kaamatan* festivities cannot proceed without the presence of *bobohizan* because it is through *Magavau* that the rice spirit, *bambaazon*, is invoked.

Before harvesting the rice, the priestess performs the *Magavau* or *Maga'au* ceremony.¹³⁹ It symbolizes the hard work of the *bobohizans*, to search and salvage as well as to bring the lost, stolen or strayed *bambaazon* or *bambarayon*. As stated earlier, the Kadazandusun believe that *bambaazon* is embodied in every part and form of rice, and therefore must ensure that no part of *bambaazon* has been harmed or hurt by birds, insects and animals, or calamities such as floods and droughts. Moreover, men and women might have dropped rice grains during the harvest, transporting, winnowing, pounding or children may waste some of their rice.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ The number of seeds planted: two per hole and then followed by three alternately. By observing this ritual, the spirits will protect the rice plants and give bountiful harvest due to the sound or rhythm and motion of this ritual.

¹³⁹ Honouring the spirit of the rice ceremony 'monogit do parai' is practised by the Kadazan Labuk, whereas in Segama, a similar ceremony is performed by a priest, priestess or elder who pluck 7 stalks of rice and put them in a bamboo. He or she then blew the bamboo seven times.

¹⁴⁰ Parents always remind children to eat every single grain of rice on their plates in order not to hurt or to disregard *bambaazon*.

In the past, *Magavau* was conducted in the rice fields on the first full moon night after the harvest, which normally was in the beginning of the month of May. The procedure of the *Magavau* ritual is as follows: first, a party of *bobohizan* led by the most senior *bobohizan*, would weave a slow procession through the fields chanting *rinait* or ritual chants to *bambaazon*. Second, a male warrior would walk ahead of this group waving a sword in the air, to defend against any evil that might try to disrupt the ritual. Third, there will be a food offering laid out on banana leaves, consisting of the best quality chicken meat, eggs, betel leaves, areca nut, tobacco and ‘rollie’ including the finest rice wine or *tapai*, offered to the spirits. When the spirits come, it is believed that only the *bobohizan* can feel their presence. The harvest is presided by the *bobohizan*¹⁴¹ by cutting the first ripe *padi* grains, followed by reciting a prayer to invite *bambaazon* to return to the household rice barns to rest until the next planting. Food offerings comprising rice wrapped in leaves, seven bamboo cups of rice wine, fermented fish, eggs, salt, the feathers of chickens slaughtered especially for the spirits, and the flowers of banana plants are offered.¹⁴² During harvesting time, which is a time of celebration and thanksgiving, *mogitabang* is again practised. It portrays the communal life of the Kadazandusun people because *Kaamatan* is not only a thanksgiving festival but also reflects the sharing spirit, comradeship, and solidarity of the Kadazandusun people.¹⁴³

In Sabah today, although many Kadazandusun people no longer practise farming or planting rice, *Tadau Kaamatan* is still acknowledged and celebrated throughout the month of May. In fact, since 1960, the Federal Government of Malaysia declared 30 – 31 May as the *Tadau Kamaatan* holiday for the state of Sabah. Thus, although the *Kaamatan* has certainly developed from being a traditional religious, agricultural ritual to an elaborate and officially recognised festival in Malaysia, the essence remains the same. It is a ritual of thanksgiving to *Kinoringan* or *Minama’al*, the creator of the universe and his wife, *Suminundu*, for sacrificing their daughter, *Humindun* so that rice could grow from her body to feed the Kadazandusun people. The life force of *Huminodun* is *bambaazon* (the rice spirit), whom the Kadazandusun wish to bring into their homes at *Kaamatan* to ensure their continuing bountiful harvest in the following year. The *Kaamatan* festival is significant because it is not only the occasion to honour

¹⁴¹ ‘Our tribals better off – a tribute to Bobolian or Bobohizan’, Daily Express, 10 August 1996.

¹⁴² The components of the food offering vary from place to place.

¹⁴³ ‘Celebrating Kaamatan village style’, Borneo Post, 30 May 1997.

bambaazon and to thank *Kinoringan* for the bountiful harvest and his generosity in prolonging life on earth, but also an occasion for strengthening the unity of the community through mutual forgiveness and sharing. Furthermore, it is a sacred ceremony: the *bobohizan* (priestess) performs the sacred *monogit*¹⁴⁴ ceremony of thanksgiving for the previous rice harvest.

Reflecting on the significance of *Tadau Kaamatan* in the religio-cultural life of the Kadazandusun people and its implications for their community, it is evident that this ceremony has a spiritual meaning, a ceremony of thanksgiving and gratitude to the creator of the world. Furthermore, it also indicates the significance of sacrifice, which was rendered by their creator, *Kinoringan* and his wife, *Suminundu*, through his daughter, *Huminodun* to their people in providing their physical needs for their well-being. It therefore has become an annual practice to celebrate *Tadau Kaamatan* to commemorate *Kinoringan*'s abundant generosity or blessings to the Kadazandusun..

5. CONCLUSION

Reflecting on the religious and cultural background of the indigenous peoples of Sabah, particularly the three indigenous ethnic groups in Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama, it is apparent that their religious beliefs and culture are intertwined and deeply integrated with one another. It is evident that they believe in *Kinoringan*, whom they identify as the Supreme Being and creator of the whole universe. Nonetheless, they also acknowledge *Suminundu* as *Kinoringan*'s wife and co-creator, indicating that they view God in the context of a community. It is clear that they believe there are other good spirits, particularly the *divato*, whose main tasks are to help and protect human beings from the attack of the malevolent spirits. For this reason, individually but more corporately, the community constantly relates to *Kinoringan* and other spirits in order to sustain the order of the spiritual world, which also influences their social world. In view of this, it is observed that their concept, purpose and ways of 'worship' are different from a Christian understanding of the word, and more concerned with appeasement and reconciliation although these themes are in Christianity – the community of the Trinity, and the sacrifice of Jesus for sin and reconciliation. These common themes therefore need to be reflected theologically in order to enrich the spirituality of the indigenous peoples.

¹⁴⁴ The basic items used for any *monogit* ceremony are rice, rice grains, rice wine *tapai*, a knife and chicken.

Furthermore, in order to maintain order, balance and harmony within the physical and spiritual realms and to seek protection from the spiritual deities, the people recognize the significant roles and functions of the spiritual ritualists and spiritual healers, trained and anointed (*sinandatan*) women and men. Thus, whenever they are dealing with difficult issues such as sickness, epidemics, catastrophes, or during significant stages of life or critical events related to cultivation, the spiritual ritualists, spiritual healers and experts of the *adat* system are consulted. This reflects their vertical relationship with the spiritual powers and horizontal relationship with fellow human beings.

In addition, the Kadazandusun also emphasise the importance of sacrifice or *sogit* for the purpose of appeasement and justification. Consequently, they preserve and practise various rituals and ceremonies in order to be in harmony with the spirit beings as well as with one another because it is through the rituals and ceremonies that they can gather corporately to show reverence and to offer thanksgiving to *Kinoringan* and other spirits. Simultaneously, their relationship with one another is nurtured. It is then obvious that they believe in the existence of God and spirits, and recognize themselves as God's created beings. For that reason, they not only identify *Kinoringan* as the creator but also address him as *osondu or asundu*, a way of acknowledging that he is holy, righteous, majestic and awesome and therefore not to be approached casually or superficially. Examining their religious life, it is apparent that their ritual ceremonies are conducted corporately, reflecting their communal way of living. This concern and accountability for one another is also evidenced through the practice of *magitabang* and the observance of the *adat* system so as not to violate the order and harmony of the community. As a matter of fact, every member and family unit within the community is expected to be honest with one another in order to avoid the occurrence of *alasu*, which is understood to affect the whole community and not just the offenders. The social structure, which is closely intertwined with the *adat* system, is highly valued because of its role in preserving the reputation of every family for the sake of the whole community. For this reason, moral principles are highly esteemed in the social life of the Kadazandusun so as to preserve the integrity and self-esteem of the community.

The Kadazandusun ethnic communities were traditionally non-literate oral cultures, living in villages or along rivers, and were often viewed as 'simple people' by foreigners including the early Christian missionaries. However, in assessing their cultural and religious background, it is apparent that they do have a strong sense of

identity as both individuals and particularly as a community. Their worldview influences their way of life, which is ritualistic due to their interaction with the spirit world.

Examining the religious and cultural background of the indigenous peoples of Sabah, specifically the Kadazandusun, clearly reveals how difficult it would have been for them to make sense of the new religion to which they were being introduced even as they were being colonized. The clash of the two religio-cultural worldviews made the inculturation of the Gospel almost impossible.

CHAPTER 4

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF SABAH

1. INTRODUCTION

The Anglican Church of Sabah, known as the Diocese of Sabah, is located in the Northern part of the island of Borneo and is part of the worldwide AC.¹ Created on 24 July 1962, it was originally established as the Diocese of Labuan in 1855. In February 1996, the Archbishop of Canterbury launched the Anglican Church of the Province of South East Asia, comprising the Diocese of Singapore, the Diocese of West Malaysia, the Diocese of Kuching and the Diocese of Sabah.² The current Bishop of the Diocese of Sabah is Albert Vun Cheong Fui and his seat is at All Saints Cathedral in Kota Kinabalu, the capital city of Sabah.

Archbishops of the Province of Southeast Asia		
1996 – 2000	Moses Tay Leng Kong	Diocese of Singapore
2000 – 2006	Yong Ping Chung	Diocese of Sabah
2006 – 2012	John Chew Hiang Chea	Diocese of Singapore
2012 – Present	Bolly Lapok	Diocese of Kuching

Name of Diocese	Year Created	Present Bishop
Diocese of Singapore	1960	Rennis Ponniah
Diocese of Sabah	1962	Albert Vun Cheong Fui
Diocese of Kuching	1962	Bolly Lapok
Diocese of West Malaysia	1970	Ng Moon Hing

The polity of the Church of the Province of South East Asia is that of Episcopal church governance, similar to that of all the AC. The Church of the Province of South East Asia embraces three orders of ministry: deacon, priest, and bishop.

¹‘The Anglican Communion is a worldwide communion of churches... It has a common pattern of liturgical life rooted in the tradition of the Book of Common Prayer; shaped by the continual reading, both corporate and private, of the Holy Scriptures; rooted in its history through the See of Canterbury; and connected through a web of relationships – of bishops, consultative bodies companion dioceses, projects of common mission, engagement with ecumenical partners...’ (The Windsor Report 2004).

² Anglicanism was first introduced in South East Asia with the establishment of the British East India Company’s settlement of Penang Island in 1786.

The Book of Common Prayer (BCP)³ is used in worship services throughout the Anglican churches in the Province.⁴ It has been translated into the three main languages of the Province: Mandarin, Tamil and Malay.⁵ During the bishopric of Francis Thomas McDougall in Sarawak, the Prayer Book has been translated into the Dyak language (now known as Iban) called Liturgy in Dyak (Sarawak), consisting of *Sumbeang Pagi* (Morning Prayer, 1-9), *Sumbeang Malam* (Evening Prayer, 10-16), together with a booklet called *Sumbeang Sackramen* (Holy Communion, 1-7). It has been revised over the years and used during church services until today. In the Anglican Church of Sabah, the missionary priests and teachers made many attempts to translate the Prayer Book into the indigenous languages particularly in the Labuk and Kinabatangan areas in the early 1960s when the Anglican mission began. However, they were not successful due to three main factors: shortage of good translators, the nature of local languages, which vary from one area to another, and beginning in the early 1970s, Malay language became the medium of instruction in schools as well as the *lingua franca* of the various ethnic groups in Sabah. As a result, instead of attempting to translate the Prayer Book and Christian literature into the local languages, the Anglican Church in Sabah decided to implement the Malay language as the medium of instruction in the church services as a response to the Federal Government of Malaysia launching the Malay language as the national language in 1967. Consequently, the Anglican Church established Malay-speaking congregations and in 1974 the Prayer Book was translated into the Malay language. Today there are three main congregations in the Diocese of Sabah: English-speaking congregations, Chinese-speaking congregations, and Malay-speaking congregations. There is no worship service conducted in the indigenous languages. The Thirty-Nine Articles are the basis for faith of the Province of Southeast Asia⁶ and the understanding of Christian doctrinal authority is based on the threefold sources of authority in Anglicanism: scripture, tradition, and reason.

³ Thomas Francis McDougall and his successors used the Book of Common Prayer 1662 during the pioneering years of the Anglican mission in Borneo.

⁴ '1662 BCP went everywhere with the Bible when missionaries were at work – missionaries saw it as crucial to being Anglican'. Gitari 1994: 15.

⁵ Francis Thomas McDougall translated the 1662 BCP into the Malay language in 1868 during his episcopacy in Sarawak. The Diocese of Sabah published a simplified Malay version of the liturgy book 'Peraturan Buku Sembahyang Diosis Anglikan Sabah' in 1974 for the Malay-speaking congregations. The Malay language, *Bahasa Malaysia* (BM) was promoted as the national language of Malaysia in 1971.

⁶ The Thirty-Nine Articles – 'Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation held at London in the year 1562, for the avoiding diversities of opinions and for the establishing of consent touching true religion.' Sykes, Booty & Knight 1998: 146.

It is important to trace the history and the development of the Anglican Church of Sabah in order to examine the relationship of Anglicanism more broadly to the liturgical worship of the Anglican Church of Sabah, Malaysia. Subsequently, in the course of this examination, it is my goal to see the implications of Anglicanism for the spirituality of the indigenous peoples, specifically the Kadazandusun, in the three early mission stations, namely Holy Cross Mission in Labuk, the Epiphany Mission in Kinabatangan and St. Stephen's Mission in Segama, Lahad Datu. Here I analyse the contributing factors of Anglicanism to the liturgical worship⁷ of the Anglican Church of Sabah, Malaysia.

2. THE BEGINNING OF THE ANGLICAN MISSION IN BORNEO

The establishment of the Anglican Church in Borneo⁸ was the consequence of the Western missionary movement in the late nineteenth century.⁹ This can be traced specifically to the British North Borneo (Chartered) Company's historical records and the Chronicles of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel mission in North Borneo. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG)¹⁰ and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) were responsible for introducing Anglicanism to Borneo by sending missionaries from England and Australia respectively. Although initially their primary purpose was to attend to the needs of the British expatriates and the Chinese immigrants,¹¹ they gradually evangelized the indigenous peoples¹² in the rural parts of

⁷ The Sabah Anglican Church emphasises the importance of worship since worship comes from God and it is the church's primary act of faith, an encounter of God and the church. 'Worship is the experiential foundation of theological reflection.' Kavanagh 1984:78.

⁸This covers Labuan, Sarawak, Sabah (formerly known as British North Borneo) and Brunei.

⁹ In 1665, the first Englishman, Captain Cowley visited a small island located near the north end of Borneo and in 1773 the East India Company founded a station at Balambangan, an island to the north of Marudu Bay. In 1756 the Sultan of Sulu sold the island and the northeast promontory of Borneo to Alexander Darymple, 'as a reward for procuring his release from captivity in Manila, moreover the Sultan, by grant dated 1769, acknowledged having sold to the English East India Company his North Borneo territories.' See Handbook of the State of North Borneo 1934: 22.

¹⁰ On 20 November 2012 the USPG (United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) was changed to United Society (US). 'USPG was derived from a name coined in 1701, and it had become clear this 18th century name was not connecting with the people in the 21st century.' See Borneo Chronicles Spring/Summer 2013: 21.

¹¹ Chinese migrants are believed to have started settling in Borneo in 1761 (under the jurisdiction of the British). Bastin and Winks (1966): 121.

Sabah. The indigenous peoples were called *pagans*¹³ or *heathens* by the Christian missionaries and *kafir*¹⁴ by the Muslims. Both the Christian missionaries and Muslims ignored the traditional religion of the indigenous peoples of Sabah.

It is stated in a report in 1886 entitled ‘Origins of the Dusuns’ compiled in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, that the Dusuns believed they all have to ascend to Mt. Kinabalu after death. They believed that ‘the good ones find little difficulty in accomplishing, and are thence ushered into heaven, while the wicked ones are left unsuccessfully trying to struggle and scramble up the rocky sides of the mountain’.¹⁵ From this report, it is clear that the late nineteenth century British in North Borneo did acknowledge the religious background of the indigenous peoples, who practised their own traditional religion¹⁶ inherited from their ancestors.¹⁷

The Handbook of British North Borneo dated 1886 claimed:

The Tumbunwhas and other Dusun tribes are greatly guided in their movements and operations by omens and dreams, good birds and bad birds, and so forth, and have superstitions in connection with a good many things.¹⁸

Based on this statement, the Dusuns were viewed as ‘superstitious’. But for the Dusuns and other indigenous peoples in North Borneo, they were conducting themselves according to their worldview so that they were able to live harmoniously among themselves and with the natural environment. For the indigenous peoples in Borneo, fear of numerous spirits was a reality, especially the malevolent spirits that have been

¹² Indigenous people refers to the different ethnic groups in Sabah such as the Kadazandusun, Murut, Rungus, Lundayeh, Paitan, Bajau, Bonggi, Ilanun, Idahan, Brunei. They are also called ‘bumiputera’ which literally means ‘sons of the soil’. They are given the same privileges as the Malays in West Malaysia according to the Malaysian Constitution: Article 153.

¹³ Paganism is also referred as ‘nature-centered spiritualities’ or ‘nature religious’. Harvey 2005: 84

¹⁴ *Kafir* is an Arabic word for non-believer.

¹⁵ See ‘Origins of the Dusuns’ in Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886, Handbook of British North Borneo. Compiled from Reports received from Governor Treacher and other officers in the British North Borneo, and chairman of the British North Borneo Company. London: William Clowes and Sons Limited, 36-37.

¹⁶ As discussed in the previous chapter, the indigenous people of Sabah believed that spirits existed everywhere and therefore spirits are in control of creation. Before Christianity came to Sabah, the indigenous people lived in fear of the spirits and appeased the spirits by giving offerings or performing sacrifices in order to maintain balance and order between the natural and supernatural world.

¹⁷ ‘Animists are people who recognise that the world is full of persons, only some of whom are human, and that life is always lived in relationships with others.’ See Harvey (2005): 84-85.

¹⁸ See ‘Origins of Dusuns’ in Colonial and Indian Exhibition, Handbook of British North Borneo 1886: 36-37.

discussed in the previous chapter. This is beyond the ‘superstitious beliefs’ as understood by the British who invaded North Borneo for commercial purposes in the nineteenth century, and by the early missionaries who introduced Christianity and a Western worldview. It was innate for the indigenous peoples to live in daily fear of the malevolent spirits, to rely on dreams associated with the power of such spirits, and to be guided by bad omens revealed in birds, insects or other kinds of animals. It was for such reasons that they performed numerous kinds of rituals and ceremonies so as to appease the spirits that were believed to cause misfortune such as sickness, famine, disaster and even death. In spite of their efforts in performing rituals or religious ceremonies so as to maintain the balance and harmony between them and their environment, the rituals did not free them from fear. The failure of the Europeans to realise the depth to which the indigenous peoples were controlled by their worldview was a major challenge to the pioneering Anglican missionaries in comprehending the animistic belief system and penetrating the religio-cultural life of the indigenous peoples. As a result, they did not fully succeed in their attempts to impart the Christian message that reveals God’s deliverance from fear so that the indigenous peoples might experience a new hope, courage and power in their daily living as well as in their understanding of life after death.

2.1 The Diocese of Labuan and Sarawak

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the territory of northern Borneo fell within the realms of the Sultanate of Brunei in the West and the Sultanate of Sulu in the North and East. However, the British influence had begun in North Borneo in 1665, when an Englishman by the name of Captain Cowley visited a small island located near the North end of Borneo.¹⁹ By 1773, the East India Company founded a station at Balambanan (now called Balambangan), an island to the North of Marudu Bay, which became part of the British North Borneo Company’s territory. Balambanan and the whole North-Eastern Peninsular of Borneo had been sold to Alexander Dalrymple in 1756 as a reward for the rescue of the Sultan from captivity in Manila. Later, the Sultan of Sulu, ‘by grant dated 1769, acknowledged having sold to the English East India

¹⁹ Handbook of the State of North Borneo with a supplement of statistical and other useful information, 1834: 22.

Company his North Borneo territories.²⁰ Subsequently, in 1840, James Brooke visited the island of Borneo and Raja Muda Hashim of Sarawak requested assistance to suppress a rebellion. Brooke agreed on the condition of being made 'Rajah or governor.'²¹ Thus, in 1841, the government of Sarawak and its dependencies were formally handed over to James Brooke. On 24 September 1841, James Brooke was installed as the first English Rajah (King), and as governor of Sarawak.²² He was known as 'Rajah Brooke' until 1886.²³ Brooke allowed Christian mission work for the sake of the development of social services in his new kingdom.²⁴

In 1847, during a visit to England, Brooke appealed to Oxford and Cambridge universities and the SPG and CMS for assistance. He was not successful. Rather, a new association called the Borneo Church Mission was formed in 1846 to send out missionaries in 1846.²⁵ The first missionary, Francis Thomas McDougall, was sent to Borneo in 1847. McDougall was an Anglican priest (ordained as a deacon in 1845 and as priest in 1846), a qualified physician, a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and a graduate of Magdalen Hall in the University of Oxford. Both his grandfather and father were soldiers with the East India Company.²⁶ On 29 June 1848, McDougall and his team, including his wife, Harriett Bunyon, arrived in Sarawak.²⁷ In 1849, the first church was built in Kuching. Bishop of Calcutta, Daniel Wilson consecrated it in 1851. From 1853 onwards, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) was responsible financially for the mission work in Borneo and sent missionaries from England. The first SPG missionary in Borneo was Andrew Horsburgh, a priest recruited by McDougall in Hong Kong.²⁸ In 1899, the first woman missionary from SPG, Evelyn Clarkson, was sent to North Borneo. She was responsible for the Anglican girls' school

²⁰ Handbook of the State of North Borneo 1934: 22.

²¹ Handbook of the State of North Borneo 1934: 23.

²² Borneo (SPG Handbook Series) 1917: 26

²³ The title 'Rajah' or 'Raja' (*old spelling for 'raja' meaning 'king'*), was given by the Sultan of Brunei, Omar Ali Saifudin. Bastin & Winks 1966: 160.

²⁴ The Brooke Rajahs: James Brooke (1839-1867), Charles Brooke (1868-1917) and Charles Vyner Brooke (1918-1946). They were recognized by Britain. Bastin & Winks 1966: 246-247 & 269-270.

²⁵ Borneo (SPG Handbook Series) 1917: 27-28

²⁶ Saint 1985: 7.

²⁷ Neill 1990: 246.

²⁸ Taylor, 'SPG and North Borneo' in Diocese of Sabah Silver Jubilee 1962-1987, 1987: 16.

in Sandakan but had to transfer to Kuching in 1901 since she was the only woman missionary in North Borneo.²⁹

Bishop McDougall was consecrated by Bishop Daniel Wilson, the fifth bishop of Calcutta (1832-1858), as the first Bishop of Labuan³⁰ in Calcutta Cathedral. Sarawak was a bishopric rather than a diocese because there was no territorial jurisdiction since England did not rule in Borneo until 1881. Bishop McDougall exercised his functions by licence from Rajah James Brooke. He was appointed by Letters Patent on 1 January 1856:

Whereas for the maintenance of religion and for the promotion of Piety within the State of Sarawak, it is desired by the native and foreign inhabitants professing the doctrines of the Church of England in the said State, that there be a Bishop, and that the Right Reverend Francis Thomas McDougall, Bishop of Labuan, should be received and acknowledged as the Bishop of Sarawak.³¹

McDougall was the Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak until 1867. He was succeeded by Walter Chambers, who established the first mission station among the Sea Dayaks³² at Banting, Sarawak, in 1851.³³ Walter Chambers was consecrated on 29 June 1869.³⁴ At the time of his consecration there were already about 1,000 Dayak and 200 Chinese Christians. Four churches and three chapels had already been built.³⁵ During Chambers' episcopate (1869-1880), the Straits Settlements was included in his diocese.

In 1881, the British government assumed 'protection,' that is, influence over the Northern third of the island of Borneo, comprised of Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei.³⁶ Thus, the British North Borneo (Chartered) Company was formed to govern the territory of North Borneo, which it did until the invasion of the Japanese in 1941.³⁷ The

²⁹ Taylor 'SPG and North Borneo' in Diocese of Sabah Silver Jubilee 1962-1987, 1987:18.

³⁰ In 1847 Labuan was made a Crown Colony, with a Governor and other officers. See Handbook of The State of North Borneo 1934: 24. Labuan had a church by about 1860. Baker 1962: 18.

³¹ Stonton, BORNEO (The War and After Series, IV). (1947): 46.

³² Sea Dayaks or 'Dyaks' refers to the Ibans and they are the majority indigenous group in Sarawak.

³³ Borneo (SPG Handbook Series), 1917: 29

³⁴ See appendix I (a): Bishops of Labuan and Sarawak

³⁵ Borneo (SPG Handbook Series), 1917: 30

³⁶ 'In 1881, after protracted discussion, a British North Borneo Company was chartered in London and gained from the British Crown a degree of protection.' Andaya & Andaya 1982: 186.

³⁷ Both Sultan of Brunei and the Sultan of Sulu claimed North Borneo (in the Southern Philippines) in the nineteenth century although neither exercised any real or direct control over the territory. In 1888, Britain established protectorates over Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo to stop further annexation of Brunei

motives for the extension of protection probably included the desire to dominate the trade route to China as well as imperialist rivalry with other European powers such as the Dutch in Indonesia and the Spaniards in the Philippines.³⁸ It was not only the longest lasting of the nineteenth century British Chartered Companies, but it was also the only one that preserved its documents. In 1946, at the end of World War II following the Japanese occupation from 1941 to 1945, both Sarawak and the British North Borneo (Sabah)³⁹ were transferred directly to Britain as Crown Colonies. This was necessary because neither Rajah Brooke nor the British North Borneo Chartered Company had sufficient capital for post-war reconstruction. According to James P. Ongkili, the paternalism of the Brooke Rajahs and the commercial considerations of the British North Borneo Chartered Company had left Sarawak and British North Borneo (Sabah) effectively insulated from the spread of nationalist ideas in Southeast Asia.⁴⁰ Brunei, however, remained a Protectorate and was administered as part of the Malay Union.⁴¹

In 1909, the Diocese of Labuan was divided into the Diocese of Labuan and Sarawak and the Diocese of Singapore and Straits Settlements. Rupert William Mounsey became the fourth Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak. During his episcopate, the diocese progressed well and the staff was greatly strengthened from England. The number of clergy increased to twenty due to the college at Kudat, and in Sandakan the Chinese

territory as well as the commercial rivalry developing between Rajah Brooke and the Chartered Company over the remains of Brunei. Milne & Mauzy, 1974: 18.

In February 2013, 100 armed men from the Southern part of the Philippines, who claimed to be the 'royal army' of the Sulu Sultanate attempted to invade Lahad Datu, a town located in the east coast of Sabah.

³⁸ This was the first invasion of Sabah; it was commercial in nature, benevolent by assertion, and paternalistic in intent. Nevertheless, its primary responsibilities were to the shareholders of the British Chartered Company and the Crown. In 1888, Sabah became a protectorate. Yong and Ross-Larson, 1974: 26.

³⁹ The word 'Sabah' was first used officially in a document dated 29 December 1877, a Commission from the Sultan of Brunei, Abdul Mumin (1852-1885) appointing Gustavus Baron von Overbeck as 'Maharajah of Sabah'. The name 'North Borneo' first used in a document dated 2 December 1878, which was an application for a Royal Charter submitted to the British government by Alfred Dent on behalf of the Overbeck-Dent Association. In 1881, the name 'British North Borneo' gained currency when the British North Borneo Provisional Association was formed. Its first Governor of British North Borneo was W. H. Treacher. But in August 1882, Sir Rutherford Alcock, the Chairman of the BNBC was advised by Sir Tenterden of the Foreign Office to drop the word 'British' as 'North Borneo' was not a British territory'. Thus the name 'North Borneo' was established till 1963 – reverted to 'Sabah' due to local demands. Singh, *The Making of Sabah (1865-1941)* 2003: 3-5.

⁴⁰ Ongkili 1985: 135. See also in Milne & Mauzy 1974: 34.

⁴¹ Sinclair 'Survey of the Year 1949,' *The International Review of Missions* 38 (1949): 22

started evangelistic work in their own towns.⁴² The whole diocese was reorganised and the ministry among the European expatriates, the Chinese immigrants and the indigenous people, particularly the Dyaks, was better directed to each ethnic group to meet their needs. Mounsey organised conferences on discipline and order and secured better conditions for all workers. In England, he formed the Borneo Mission Association (BMA) in 1909, to supplement the generous grants of the SPG.⁴³

From the end of Brooke's rule in Sarawak in 1946 until the consecration of Bishop Nigel Cornwall in 1949, the Borneo bishopric was strictly twofold: the Diocese of Labuan and the Diocese of Sarawak. Labuan had been created as a diocese by Royal Letters of Patent on 6 August 1855, to comprise the 'Island of Labuan and its Dependencies' and was known as the Bishopric of Labuan. As Anglican work spread in 1888, this diocese grew to include Brunei and British North Borneo, and from 1869, the Straits Settlements of Malacca, Penang and Singapore, which were transferred from Calcutta. It was also in the same year that 'the British Government conferred on North Borneo the boon of British protection', which recognised that 'all rights of sovereignty over the said territories' (in North Borneo) are vested in British North Borneo'.⁴⁴ In fact, based on the agreement signed on 12 May 1888,⁴⁵ North Borneo continued to be governed as an independent state and its relations with foreign states were conducted through Her Majesty, the Queen of England's Government. According to this agreement, Her Majesty had direct control over North Borneo and therefore no cession of any part of Borneo could be made without the consent of Her Majesty's Government.⁴⁶ In 1909, a separate diocese of Singapore was set up following the resignation of Bishop Hose (third bishop). During his episcopate both the work in Malaya and in British North Borneo had increased considerably.

⁴² The Chronicle, Borneo Mission Association in Connection with S.P.G. Vol. 22, No. 1 (February 1932): 5.

⁴³ Borneo (SPG Handbook Series) 1917: 32-33

⁴⁴ Handbook of the State of North Borneo with a Supplement of statistical and other useful information, 1834: 30.

⁴⁵ See British North Borneo, 1888, Protectorate Agreement in British North Borneo Chartered Company. Views of British North Borneo: with a brief history of the colony compiled from official records and other sources of information of authentic nature (1899) 6.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 30.

2.2 The Diocese of Borneo

In 1949, the Diocese of Labuan and Sarawak became the Diocese of Borneo.⁴⁷ Nigel E. Cornwall was consecrated as the Bishop of Borneo on 1 November 1949, and enthroned on 20 December 1949. He resided in Kuching, Sarawak. In 1955, the Diocesan Council came into existence and the second Diocesan Council meeting was held in April 1957.⁴⁸

For over a hundred years, the Anglican mission work in Sabah was under the administration of the Diocese of Borneo (unification of the Diocese of Labuan and the Diocese of Sarawak) with its headquarters in Kuching, Sarawak. However, in the early 1960s, Cornwall saw the potential for the spread of the Gospel in Sabah, particularly to the interior parts where most of the indigenous peoples had not been evangelised. In his last letter as the Bishop of Borneo, he noted that, ‘The two missions in Jesselton and Kuching have been a great experience and a very wonderful foundation on which to build the new era.’⁴⁹ He also perceived the need for greater self-government within the diocese for more effective mission work in Sabah. In 1961 Cornwall presided over the division of the Diocese of Borneo into two dioceses: the Diocese of Jesselton and the Diocese of Kuching. James Wong, a non-stipendiary priest from Macao, who was the assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Borneo, became the Bishop of the Diocese of Jesselton while Cornwall became the first Bishop of the Diocese of Kuching. Due to the steady growth of the work in the interior parts of Sabah, the Diocese of Jesselton was created in 1962. It was renamed the Diocese of Sabah in 1964 when Sabah became part of the federation of Malaysia.⁵⁰

When the Diocese of Borneo was divided, the names of the see towns were used. The Diocese of Jesselton (former name of Kota Kinabalu), which included Labuan came into being on 24 July 1962 and the Diocese of Kuching, which included Brunei on

⁴⁷ After the Second World War, the civil jurisdiction was handed over to the British Colonial Office and consequently, the Anglican mission in Sarawak, Labuan and North Borneo (Sabah) became the Diocese of Borneo. See Sunquist 2001: 29.

⁴⁸ Borneo Chronicle: vol. 35 no. 2 (1958: June). The first Diocesan Council was held on 13 June 1955. See Report of Borneo Mission vol. 34 no. 1 September 1955.

⁴⁹ A Letter from Nigel Cornwall on 15 June 1962 in Borneo Chronicle vol. 38: no. 2 (September 1962): 18. Nigel Cornwall resigned on 31 October 1962.

⁵⁰ Cited in Craston, 1992: 46. See also Varney, ‘50 Years Ago: The Churches and the Creation of the Federation of Malaysia’ in Borneo Chronicle vol. 51 no. 7 (Spring/Summer 2013): 16-18.

13 August 1962. In the Sarawak Gazette of 31 August 1962, Bishop Nigel E. Cornwall wrote:

The past variety of names shows the weakness of using a defined area as the name, and we are now going to follow the more usual custom of adopting the name of the city or town where the Bishop has his 'Seat' or 'Throne' – in his Cathedral. This will avoid the necessity of any change of nomenclature in the future. The name of Jesselton has been changed to Kota Kinabalu in 1968, but the diocese is called the Diocese of Sabah.⁵¹

2.3 The Diocese of Jesselton

When the Diocese of Jesselton was established in 1962, Britain was in the process of handing over the colonial rule of Sabah and Sarawak (later known as East Malaysia) to be part of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963, together with the eleven states in the then independent Malaya together with Singapore.⁵² In 1965, James Wong became the Bishop of Taiwan and was succeeded by Roland Koh. Bishop Koh was a Sabahan and the former Assistant Bishop for the Diocese of Singapore and Malaya since 1958.⁵³ He was enthroned as the first Sabahan Bishop on 1 March 1965 in the Cathedral of All Saints. The enthronement service was attended by ecumenical church leaders and government officials, an indication of the beginning of inter-church relationships and a sign of ecumenism in Malaysia as well as the recognition of the Anglican Church by the Malaysian government. The Anglican Church was no longer the 'Established Church' or state church since Sabah was now part of the federation of Malaysia and in the process of developing its own indigenous leadership. In his sermon during the enthronement service, Bishop Koh stressed the call of God at a time of 'our national crisis.'⁵⁴

⁵¹ Sarawak Gazette 31 August 1962.

⁵² In the beginning, there were considerable reservations in the Borneo states (Sarawak and North Borneo) over the Malaysia proposal. The Chinese preferred the security and economic freedom of action provided by the British. They were reluctant to come under Malay domination. Moreover, the indigenous non-Muslim groups, and even some of the Muslims, retained memories of repression by the Brunei Malays and were therefore hesitant to become part of a Malay-dominated polity unless they were provided with definite protection. Further, some Borneo leaders hoped that a separate federation consisting of the Borneo states could be instituted. Milne & Mauzy 1974: 35.

⁵³ Roland Peck-Chiang Koh (56 years old). He was born in a Buddhist family at Sandakan, North Borneo and was a Buddhist for more than 20 years of his life. In 1958, he was consecrated as assistant Bishop in Singapore and in 1961 as the Bishop Suffragan in Kuala Lumpur and Archdeacon of Central Malaya.

⁵⁴ Borneo Chronicle: vol. 40 no. 2 (1965): 2. 'Our national crisis' was about the formation of the Federation of Malaysia and the changes that affected the Anglican Church in Sabah.

At the time of the formation of the Anglican Diocese of Jesselton, there were sixteen SPG missionaries (clergy and lay) but only one of the fourteen clergy was a Sabahan.⁵⁵ Almost every position of responsibility in the diocese, including positions in education and medical care, was in the hands of the SPG personnel. According to Bishop Koh:

The reasons for the serious shortage of Asian priests are not far to seek. The remedy is elusive, perhaps non-existent. Christians in Asia do not share the same tradition of service to the Church to be found among many families in Europe. Very often their religion is newly acquired. Most have come to think of priests only in terms of Europeans. Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that a majority of churchgoers would not only discourage their sons from entering the ministry but would not welcome a fellow Asian at the lectern. For Christians in Borneo not to relieve the overseas missions of a greater part of their burden should be a reproach to their national pride and religion. Here is a field where expatriates would be happy to be Borneanised.⁵⁶

The above statement reflected the attitudes of the early indigenous Christians since Christianity was regarded as a Western religion and the people therefore expected the priests to be Europeans. Moreover, the church was very clergy-oriented. Changes to this imbalance of personnel only began to take place in the 1960s and 1970s in part as a response to the Muslim-dominated political parties that ruled Sabah. These included the United Sabah National Organization (USNO) under the leadership of Tun Dato Haji Mustapha bin Dato Harun, a fanatical Muslim who intended to make Sabah an Islamic state and then *Parti Bersatu Rakyat Jelata Sabah* or Sabah People's United Front (BERJAYA) under the leadership of Datuk Harris Salleh. From 1967 onwards, there was a gradual decrease in the number of SPG missionaries serving in Sabah. In 1969, all foreign clergy without permanent residence status were expelled from Sabah, dramatically reducing the number of clergy. In retrospect, this persecution period may be considered 'a blessing in disguise' for the Diocese of Jesselton because it forced the diocese to become autonomous, both ecclesiastically and financially, from the missionary societies. It also motivated Sabahan lay people to be more involved in the ministry of the church. Vocations to the priesthood also increased. Brian Taylor, observing this phenomenon, noted in the Diocese of Sabah Silver Jubilee in 1987:

The USPG congratulate you in your fine achievement of moving from dependence to self-support during these twenty-five years. Many of the hopes and expectations of the early SPG pioneers have been fulfilled.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Taylor 'SPG and the Diocese of Sabah,' *The Diocese of Sabah Silver Jubilee 1962-1987* (1987): 15.

⁵⁶ A Letter from the Bishop of Jesselton/Sabah, *Borneo Chronicle*: vol. 39: no. 6 (November 1964): 6-7,

⁵⁷ Taylor 1987: 15.

In 1970, when West Malaysia and Singapore became two separate dioceses, Roland Koh became the first diocesan bishop of West Malaysia. Luke Chhoa, a West Malaysian, became the third bishop of the Diocese of Sabah on 30 November 1971.⁵⁸

It is evident that the creation of the Diocese of Sabah is due to the missionary contribution of SPG (England)⁵⁹ and CMS (Australia). They both provided financial support and sent missionaries to proclaim the gospel in Sabah. Apart from these two missionary societies, the Borneo Mission⁶⁰ from Sarawak⁶¹ also played a very significant role by sharing their personnel in the establishment of the mission to the indigenous people in the rural parts of Sabah. Since 1962 the diocese has been under Asian leadership, including a Sabahan and a West Malaysian. The history of the Anglican Church in Sabah has both an Anglo-Catholic (SPG) and Evangelical (Australian CMS) background that influences its liturgical worship and to which I will return later.

Summary of the Historical Development of the Anglican Diocese

1855	Diocese of Labuan
1881	Diocese of Singapore, Labuan and Sarawak
1909	Diocese of Labuan was divided into two dioceses: Diocese of Labuan and Sarawak Diocese of Singapore and Straits Settlements
1949	Diocese of Labuan and Sarawak renamed as Diocese of Borneo
1962	Diocese of Borneo was divided into two dioceses: Diocese of Kuching Diocese of Jesselton (Sabah)
1970	Formation of the Diocese of West Malaysia

⁵⁸ See Appendix I (b): Bishops of the Diocese of Jesselton, later known as the Diocese of Sabah.

⁵⁹ This assertion is challenged by Brian Taylor who denied that the Anglican Church in Sabah owed its original activity to the SPG missionaries; rather according to him, it was ‘a Macedonian call’ or rather the call of the Chinese and European lay Christians in Sabah that motivated the SPG to send missionaries to Sabah. Taylor, ‘SPG and North Borneo’ Diocese of Silver Jubilee (1987): 16.

⁶⁰ Initially the Borneo Mission was envisaged as a mission to the Dayaks in Sarawak. See Saint, M. (1985): 33.

3. THE ROLE OF THE MISSION AGENCIES: THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (1888-1974) AND THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (1954-1980)

3.1 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (1888-1974)

It is reported in *The Handbook of The State of North Borneo – Religion and Education (1934)*, ‘The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Roman Catholic Church have missions scattered throughout the country, and there are resident priests in the principal towns, while out-stations and estates are visited frequently.’⁶² It is evident from the records that the SPG has played a significant role in implementing the Christian mission in Borneo. Borneo was one of the many dioceses, which the SPG influenced greatly, specifically through mission education. According to the report, ‘the religious bodies’, referring to the SPG and the Roman Catholic Church, ‘pay particular attention to education, and have established schools in many places.’ Seven of the schools were maintained by the SPG.⁶³ To a large extent, the Christian mission that included education and medical care in Borneo owed its existence to SPG, which contributed the essential funds for support of the missionaries and their work. According to Cornwall, the word ‘mission’ was used to describe SPG due to the support from England. One therefore should not speak of ‘Borneo mission but rather SPG working in Borneo.’⁶⁴ Apart from establishing the Anglican Church in Sabah, the SPG also started mission schools and medical clinics, which gradually improved the lifestyle of the people and prepared the younger generations to take leadership roles in the church and state.⁶⁵

Baker claims that, ‘The real foundations of the Anglican Church in North Borneo were laid by the Rev. W. H. Elton, who arrived in Sandakan in 1888 and was to remain for a quarter of a century.’⁶⁶ Elton was the first SPG missionary and he was assigned as

⁶¹ The Anglican Church in Sarawak took the initiative to send Iban men (formerly known as Dyaks) to Sabah to do evangelistic work among the indigenous people in Kinabatangan and Labuk rivers.

⁶² Handbook of North Borneo with a Supplement of Statistical and Other Useful Information, (1934): 97.

⁶³ Ibid. 97.

⁶⁴ A Letter from the Bishop Nigel Cornwall, *Borneo Chronicle*: Vol. 35 no 2 June 1958.

⁶⁵ During Bishop Danson’s episcopate, he laid a special emphasis on mission education, which he considered as a means of evangelization. *Borneo Chronicle* vol. 24 no. 6: (December 1937): 102.

⁶⁶ Baker 1962: 18.

a chaplain to the civil servants of the British North Borneo Chartered Company and other Europeans in the state. He started both English and Hakka church services and built two schools namely, St Michael's School for boys and St Monica's School for girls.⁶⁷ As the first SPG missionary, Elton is often remembered as not only the founder but also the builder of St. Michael and All Angel's Church and St. Michael's School in Sandakan on his own initiative in the initial mission work in Sandakan. As the only priest, his main work extended from Sandakan to other parts of Sabah such as Kudat, Labuan Island, Bengkoka River, Labuk, Sugut, Lahad Datu, Tawau, Bangi Island and Marudu Bay.⁶⁸

In 1883, Chinese immigrants began to arrive in Kudat, a town in the North of Sabah. The SPG mission work spread there in 1889.⁶⁹ In 1892, John Patrick, a school headmaster, and Fong Hau Kong arrived from China to assist Elton. Fong was appointed as a Lay Reader and was sent to work among the Chinese Christians in Kudat.⁷⁰ Fong was later ordained in 1898 as a deacon by Bishop Hose. Later, women missionaries were sent by the SPG to help Elton in implementing mission education in Sandakan. When Elton's ministry in Sandakan ended in 1914, T. C. Alexander, the founder of the Boy Scouts in Borneo, succeeded him.⁷¹

Due to influx of Chinese from China to Sabah and the expansion of Chinese ministry, a theological school called the College of the Holy Way was founded in Kudat in 1923 to prepare candidates for ordination from the local Chinese people. The college graduated four Chinese clergy whose ministry played an important part in developing the Anglican Church, particularly the Chinese congregations. However, it was closed in 1930 due to financial constraint.⁷² The Anglican Church also implemented mission education in Kudat by establishing St. James's School.

⁶⁷ SPG (Handbook Series) 1917: 31-32.

⁶⁸ See Map of Sabah

⁶⁹ SPG (Handbook Series) 1917: 97.

⁷⁰ The Chinese Christians in Kudat were converts of the Basel, Berlin, Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Methodist missions in China who migrated to North Borneo. See Diocese of Sabah Silver Jubilee 1987: 17.

⁷¹ Scouting was also a means of proclaiming the gospel among the boys who were studying in the mission schools. It was considered as part of the school curriculum. However, scouting lost its objective soon after the mission schools came under the Ministry of Education of Malaysia.

⁷² Borneo Church Mission (no date and no place of publication). Transcribed by Wayne Kempton, Archivist and Historiographer of the Episcopal Church of New York, 2008.

In 1894, the SPG responded to Elton's challenge to evangelize the Muruts in Keningau. Thus, in 1895, two missionaries, Fred Perry and Harry John from England, were sent to Keningau for this purpose. George Matthew who was a schoolteacher assisted them with the initial evangelism work. Perry started a congregation and a mission school, St. Paul's School, was built in Beaufort. However, the mission to the Muruts was neglected for many years due to a shortage of personnel. It was not until 1975 that the Anglican Church again began to evangelize the Muruts, not in Keningau, but in Inarad, Kinabatangan.

In 1903, George Knight Clarke, a missionary priest in Labuan started the SPG mission work in Jesselton by opening King Edward VII School, later known as All Saints' School.⁷³ The mission work in Jesselton developed through mission education. This was described in the annual Borneo Mission Association Report in 1937, 'Many boys from *heathen* homes came as boarders to the school, and though, of course, no pressure was exerted to make them become Christians, last year quite a number came forward and expressed a wish to do so.'⁷⁴ Sunday services were held in the school until All Saints' Church was built in 1911. Based on Bishop Hudson's speech during the Annual Borneo Mission Association on 27 October 1937, there were three groups in All Saints' Church: 'English people, a large number of natives who live in the jungle, cut off from the influences of modern civilization, some of whom had previously had a religion of their own, and who were gradually forming a native Church; a number of members of different races living in the towns – mostly Chinese whose parents came from China'.⁷⁵

The ministry on the West Coast developed tremendously, but was halted during the Second World War. However, Jesselton was to become very significant because it became the capital of post-war North Borneo. In 1952, the new All Saints' Church was built which became the Cathedral of the diocese in 1962.

⁷³ Prior to 1909, education in North Borneo was mainly run by missionary societies. However, there were a small number of Chinese and Malay schools. Andaya & Andaya 1982: 236.

⁷⁴ Borneo Chronicle, vol. 24 no. 6 (December 1937): 104.

⁷⁵ Borneo Chronicle vol. 24 no. 6 (December 1937): 104.

During the pioneering stage, the Christian faith was not imparted effectively to the indigenous peoples and to the Chinese in large part due to shortage of personnel. For the Europeans, there were also language, cultural and communication barriers. Moreover, the mission work was halted during the war in Europe, Africa and elsewhere in Asia such as China. There was no recruitment of missionaries. The situation became worse in North Borneo during the Japanese occupation in January 1942. Most of the SPG missionaries were taken captive and interned in the Batu Lintang camp in Sarawak. After the war, most were not well enough to resume their work in North Borneo. As indicated above, in December 1949, a new bishop, N.E. Cornwall, was sent to Borneo. Thus, following the war, the Anglican Church in Borneo faced an enormous challenge: the missions needed to be reconstructed and revived.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the SPG continued to support the Anglican Church by sending missionaries and mission stations increased in number in spite of the post-war difficulties in England.

The work of the nineteenth-century Christian missionary societies is often perceived as another aspect of Western colonialism by people in Asia since ‘the Anglican Church came with the English colonists in Malaysia and the Church of England remained for almost two hundred years in the role of ministering to the white, English-speaking communities.’⁷⁷ As a result, Christianity was often associated with colonialism and Westernisation. For many years, the Anglicans in Borneo were referred to as ‘SPG Christians’⁷⁸ despite the fact that the organisation’s goal was to plant self-supporting churches throughout the British Empire. This connotation was due to the ecclesiastical structure and to the form and order of the liturgical worship in the state church, which were identical to the Church of England, the church of the coloniser. Moreover, the Anglican Church in Sabah was dependent on the SPG’s personnel and financial support. When the Diocese of Jesselton was created,⁷⁹ there was only one Sabahan priest among fourteen missionary priests. Stephen Neill, an Anglican missionary, Bishop and scholar, who worked in India, asserted:

⁷⁶ Sinclair, ‘A Survey of the Year 1950’, *The International Review of Missions*, (1951): 20.

⁷⁷ Moffett 2005: 357.

⁷⁸ Taylor, ‘SPG and North Borneo’, *Diocese of Sabah Silver Jubilee 1987*:16

⁷⁹ The Diocese of Borneo (created in 1949 and the first bishop was N. E. Cornwall) was divided into two dioceses: The Diocese of Jesselton (the first bishop was James C. L. Wong, a non-stipendiary priest from the Church of Good Shepherd in Hong Kong) and the Diocese of Kuching (the first bishop was Nicholas Allenby).

A church cannot be genuinely independent unless it has local leaders capable of replacing the missionary in every level of thought and activity. Lay leaders are indispensable, but much depends on the quality of the ordained ministry.⁸⁰

There were 16 missionaries and almost every position and responsibility in the diocese, both in the churches and in the mission schools, remained in the hands of the SPG personnel until 1967. Most probably it was the missionaries' perceptions of the indigenous peoples. They were hesitant to recognise them and to release the church ministries to them. As a result, according to Neill, 'Even when ordained to the ministry, they were still regarded as no more than assistants to the missionary.'⁸¹ Neill's observations about India were also true in Sabah.

It is undeniable that the SPG was responsible for the establishment of the Anglican Church of Sabah but it did not succeed in fully indigenising the church because the Anglican ecclesiastical structure was foreign to the indigenous peoples. One of the pioneering missionaries, Sylvia Jeanes, who ministered among the indigenous peoples in Kinabatangan for nineteen years, stated:

I've never liked the way we expect the converted to follow the English traditions and structure. Could not the receiving church, which has its own structure and organization be allowed to organize the church according to its own model.⁸²

Jeanes' statement suggests that the missionaries failed to inculturate the Gospel with a form and order of Anglican liturgical worship relevant to their religious tradition. The way Christianity was presented did not speak to their religio-cultural worldview. Furthermore, the concept of worship based on the written order of worship or liturgy was foreign to them, not only in terms of the language but also in all of its elements. Unfortunately, there was no dialogue because the traditional religion of the indigenous peoples was dismissed as 'pagan' and perceived by the missionaries as the worship of the dark forces. For these reasons, Anglicanism among the indigenous peoples has not been implemented in a meaningful way.

Thus, it is not surprising that Christianity in Borneo was perceived as a form of Westernisation. There was a lack of contextualization of both the gospel message and forms of worship. This was due to the language barriers as well as a lack of knowledge

⁸⁰ Neil 1986: 385.

⁸¹ Neil 1986: 384.

⁸² Personal communication on 9 December 2011.

on the part of the missionaries about the culture of the receiving people. Many of the indigenous peoples perceived that the contribution of the SPG in providing resources, both in terms of personnel and financial support to the Anglican Church in Borneo, was a means of imposing European culture and values or colonialism. In response to this perception, Bishop Nigel Cornwall responded:

It is absolutely vital to our life that we should quickly grow out of that state, and no doubt a much greater undertaking of self-support would help us to grow. There is no doubt that we have got to work at high pressure to try to nourish and develop the sense of personal and corporate responsibility for the Church of God, and much of what we do has this as at least one of its aims. We are pushing ahead with the establishment of Parish councils as one step in this direction. Through Parish council a few people at any rate can begin to understand something about the finances of the Church and learn what responsibility means.⁸³

Retrospectively, Bishop Cornwall's response was in fact an imposition of the British structures, which unfortunately continue to be the structures in the Anglican Church of Sabah today. Congregations are encouraged or even pressurised to become autonomous financially in order to be recognised as a parish. As a result, the giving of tithes and offerings are almost obligatory.⁸⁴

Humphrey Taylor stressed that the involvement of the SPG in establishing the Anglican Church in North Borneo was a response to a kind of 'Macedonian call' from the Chinese and European Christians in North Borneo. Similarly, Brian Taylor asserted that apart from providing resources to the church, the role of SPG was also to reach out to the indigenous peoples in North Borneo. He stressed that the SPG had a certain consistency of emphasis in their ministry in Borneo.⁸⁵ First, it demonstrated a consistent understanding of the Church as the fellowship of believers. Second, it showed a consistent emphasis on the quality of work, dedication and industry of the missionaries. Third, the emphasis was on the development of the Asian ministry through education and this was intended to pave the way for local ministry.

It is irrefutable that the SPG was responsible for the establishment of the Anglican Church among the indigenous peoples. This included establishing both mission education and medical care in Sabah. However, due to constant ecclesiastical and political changes, and a lack of contextualization of the gospel, the Christian message

⁸³ A Letter from the Bishop Nigel Cornwall, *Borneo Chronicle*: vol. 35 no 2 (June 1958): 18. Bishop Cornwall's response can also be interpreted as an imposition of British structures.

⁸⁴ This issue was raised during one of my conversations with the respondents.

⁸⁵ Taylor 'SPG and the Diocese of Sabah', *Sabah Silver Jubilee 1987*: 15.

was not imparted nor implemented effectively. This affected the spiritual growth of the indigenous peoples who regarded the Anglican Church and Christianity as the ‘religion of the Europeans’⁸⁶ for English-speaking people.⁸⁷

Nevertheless, in spite of the cultural and language barriers, the SPG missionaries were motivated by the love of Christ to come to North Borneo to evangelise the people. They were convinced that it was the work of the Holy Spirit that enabled the Gospel message to penetrate into the hearts of the people. From the indigenous people’s perspective, however, the Gospel needs to be fully comprehended within their own culture and languages so as to enable them to identify themselves as ‘Christians of Sabah’.

3.2 Church Missionary Society (CMS) 1954-1980

At the end of the Second World War, there was a great shortage of European Christian workers in many places in Southeast Asia, including Sabah.⁸⁸ As a consequence of negotiations between the CMS in Australia and Bishop Cornwall in Kuching, Walter and Camille Newmarch were sent to Sabah as the first CMS missionaries in 1954. They started the mission work in Tawau on the East Coast residency⁸⁹ of Sabah near the Indonesian border.⁹⁰ In January 1954, Bishop Cornwall wrote, ‘CMS Australia has given magnificent help to Tawau, it is sowing faith and patience, but the first fruits are just beginning to appear.’ He also announced the recruitment of Rev. and Mrs. Laurie Green of Melbourne to serve in Tawau and Lahad Datu.⁹¹

⁸⁶ The early Anglican Church in Sabah was very English in terms of the architecture of the church buildings, administration and structure, language, liturgy, forms of worship, teaching materials and methodologies. As a result, the indigenous people were given the impression that to embrace the Christian faith, they had to embrace the Western culture.

⁸⁷ In the early years of the Sabah Anglican Church, the missionaries used English as a means of instruction both in the schools and in the churches. Gradually the students in the mission schools became their interpreters in the churches and during visitations.

⁸⁸ Newmarch, ‘A Report of the Church Missionary Society and its Links with the Life of the Anglican Church in Borneo’, The Sabah Diocese Silver Jubilee, 1987: 32.

⁸⁹ Sabah was divided in typical colonial pattern into residencies, initially two residencies: the West Coast and the East Coast. See Yong and Ross-Larson (1974): 28.

⁹⁰ The Tawau residency covered Tawau, Lahad Datu, Semporna, Kunak and the surrounding area.

⁹¹ Borneo Chronicles vol. 35 no. 1 (March 1958): 3-5.

The progress was again slow due to a shortage of personnel and language problems. Newmarch and the other missionaries implemented the schooling-instructional model, stressing preaching and teaching the Christian message.⁹² Unlike the Anglican churches in other parts of the diocese, mass conversion was not a norm in the Anglican churches in Tawau and Lahad Datu. For this reason, the indigenous people of these areas, who practised communal living,⁹³ understood Christianity as basically a personal faith rather than a corporate or communal faith.⁹⁴ Looking at the nature of the indigenous people, it would have been more effective if 'intentional religious socialization' had been used as the model of Christian education.⁹⁵

Similar to the SPG, the CMS played a significant role in the Diocese of Sabah by sending missionaries, not only to Tawau residency, but also to the West Coast residency and the interior areas in Kinabatangan. The majority of the CMS missionaries were teachers and nurses actively involved in evangelising and nurturing the people in the Christian faith through mission education and medical care. Thus, most of the converts were students in the mission schools or patients in the mission clinics. Unlike the SPG missionaries who were Anglo-Catholics, the CMS missionaries from Australia were more evangelical. For that reason, the Anglican members in Sandakan and the West Coast residencies, administered by the SPG clergy, were identified as 'High Anglicans' and the Anglican members in the East Coast residency and the Kinabatangan area were called 'Low Anglicans'. This connotation gradually faded, as the Anglicans in Sabah understood the message of the Gospel, and began to identify themselves as Christians, rather than 'SPG or CMS Anglicans' or 'people of the mission'.⁹⁶ In the 1970s, as a

⁹² Based on the stories of some of the first converts, they were asked to attend baptism and confirmation classes where they were to learn the basic Christian doctrines. The teaching-learning process was structured and formal, which was not relevant to non-literate people. They were assessed thoroughly, based on their understanding of the Christian doctrines and on their spiritual lives before they were baptised and confirmed as members of the Anglican Church. Due to illiteracy, most of the indigenous people learnt the Christian doctrines through memorisation and did not fully understand the Christian teaching.

⁹³ Traditionally the indigenous people arrange social relationships with one another in a series of groupings that encompass daily events and the basic social unit is the nuclear-family household.

⁹⁴ Traditionally the indigenous people lived in communities (villages) according to their tribes and practised communal living since they were basically related to one another in some ways or another. Each community was led by the head of the community called 'Ketua Kampung', meaning head man who was responsible to make decisions for the whole community and in each community, there were 'priests or priestesses' who also played an important roles in the religious life of the community.

⁹⁵ Westerhoff J. III 1976: 9

⁹⁶ The students of the various mission schools who became Christians were labelled as the 'People of the mission'.

result of the political changes in Sabah with the establishment of Malaysia, missionaries were expelled from the country. As a result, the indigenous Christians, who were former students of the mission schools, were compelled to take leadership roles in the Anglican Church and began to grasp more fully the significance of the Christian faith. Gradually, indigenisation happened in the church when indigenous Anglican Christians became involved in the ministry of their churches and became independent of the Western missionary societies.

4. MISSION TO THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE: SABAH ANGLICAN INTERIOR MISSION (SAIM)

Bishop Luke Chhoa, the second diocesan Bishop of Sabah, wrote:

The work of the diocese was concentrated on the English-educated people in the past. During the last twenty years or so, we have concentrated our effort in the preaching of the Gospel to the interior people through the SAIM. These works were mainly Bahasa-speaking⁹⁷ people.⁹⁸

Although it was true that for many years the work of the Anglican Diocese of Sabah was concentrated in the urban areas, particularly among the English-educated and the Chinese, it was always the goal of the former missionary bishops to reach out to the people in the rural parts of Sabah, especially the Dusuns in the East Coast and the Muruts in the interior part of Sabah. The Sabah Anglican Interior Mission (SAIM) was created as the mission board of the Anglican Diocese of Sabah in 1956 for the purpose of evangelising the indigenous people in the rural areas.⁹⁹ The SAIM had a fair level of autonomy within the diocese reflecting recognition of the major cultural differences between the Chinese in the urban areas and the indigenous people in the interior parts of Sabah. As stated by Bishop Nigel Cornwall, ‘We always have been seeking for the opportunity to get away from the coast and carry the gospel to the Dusuns and Muruts of the interior.’¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ ‘Bahasa-speaking people’ (‘bahasa’ means language) refers to the congregations of the indigenous people who use the Malay language, the national language of Malaysia as a medium of instructions in their worship services since each ethnic group speaks a different language or dialect. However, not everyone, particularly the older generation were fluent in bahasa Malaysia.

⁹⁸ Letter from the Bishop of Sabah, Borneo Chronicles vol. 48 no. 4 (1983 - 4): 64.

⁹⁹ The indigenous people of Sabah generally come from ethnic groups that had no written language. In these communities, traditions and knowledge are passed on orally through customs and practice; values are internalised through traditional socialisation.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from the Bishop Nigel Cornwall 14 July 1956, Borneo Chronicle September 1956 vol 34 no 4. .

Bruce Sandilands, a committed Christian layman who worked as a surveyor in Sabah, inspired the Diocese of Borneo to consider this mission field. As a surveyor, he was aware of the need of the indigenous peoples for the good news of the gospel, education and medical care. He shared his vision and possible strategies with Bishop Cornwall and Frank Lomax, the rector of St. Michael and All Angels' Church from 1950 until 1962 in Sandakan. Lomax responded to Sandilands and subsequently, both of them travelled via the Kinabatangan River and the Labuk River to the interior parts of Sabah.¹⁰¹ Bishop Cornwall described the intention of the mission:

The heart and centre of our work would be preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ but it will be our endeavour to help the people in every way and particularly through any educational or medical work that we are able to introduce. I think perhaps it would be worthwhile my saying that it is always our desire to build upon the foundations of the local traditions and customs and to change it where we find it incompatible with Christianity. This would be a strong injunction given to our missionaries who were sent anywhere into the interior of North Borneo.¹⁰²

Reflecting upon this statement, it is true that the mission work emphasised the preaching of the gospel, mission education and medical care. However, the gospel message was not contextualized to the culture of the indigenous people. In a letter in October 1957, Bishop Cornwall reported three significant 'movements' that had happened in the Diocese: 'first, Rev. Arnold Puntang has left Kuching and flown to North Borneo as the first priest-missionary from the Dayak community to work among the indigenous people in Tongud, Kinabatangan River, and that he was assisted by Catechist Andrew Kiri; second, a new mission field in North Borneo had appeared, near the mouth of the Labuk River to the North of Sandakan and Francis Krie, a Sea-Dayak from Saribas was to start a school at Sapi; and third, Lahad Datu had land and a house that was being converted to serve as a temporary place of worship.'¹⁰³

Thus, Lomax was responsible for establishing the mission work in the interior parts of Sabah, particularly in the Kinabatangan River and Labuk River.¹⁰⁴ From 1957

¹⁰¹ Lomax 'The North Borneo Interior Mission: Looking Outwards.' 75 Years on Elton Hill: The History of St Michael's Church Sandakan, North Borneo (May 1963): 23.

¹⁰² Cornwall, Letter to the Governor of North Borneo 13 June 1956.

¹⁰³ Letter from the Bishop Nigel, October 1957, Borneo Chronicle December 1957 vol. 34 no. 8.

¹⁰⁴ The chairman of the London Festival in 1963 paid tribute to Lomax for the outstanding work he had done particularly in pioneering the mission work among the indigenous people in Kinabatangan and Labuk and now (1963) known as the North Borneo Interior Mission. Borneo Chronicle vol.39: no.1 (Aug 1963): 9-11.

onwards, the Anglican Church in Sarawak sent five Iban men to North Borneo to pioneer the mission work.¹⁰⁵ Andrew Kiri arrived in Tongud, Kinabatangan in May 1957, followed by Arnold Puntang in November 1957. Mission work, which included mission education and medical care, began in 1958 supported by SPG. By the end of 1958, there were primary schools in Tongud (Kinabatangan area) and Sapi (Labuk area) with an evangelistic outreach.

Through the mission schools and clinics, the gospel was proclaimed. Bible stories were shared with the students and the outpatients in the clinics. Christianity was taught in the mandatory morning assemblies and as a subject in the schools.¹⁰⁶ During the weekends, the missionary teachers and students visited the nearby villages and preached the gospel and taught biblical doctrines to the people.¹⁰⁷ Although evangelism was hindered by cultural and language barriers, and transportation problems in the Kinabatangan area, by the end of 1958, 73 people were admitted to the catechumenate, followed by 74 people in 1959.¹⁰⁸ During the catechumenate, the candidates for baptism were given instruction on the basic Christian doctrines and the Anglican liturgy. Due to their illiteracy, however, the people did not fully grasp the Gospel message and there was no opportunity for reflection or discussion. Language was a barrier since the missionaries were not able to speak the dialects of the indigenous people and the indigenous people were not able to understand the English language. As a result, in St Stephen's mission in Segama, the people were dependent on the interpretations of primary school students.¹⁰⁹ One of the former students noted:

The missionaries conducted baptism and confirmation lessons in English, as they did not speak *bahasa* or other local dialects. However they had used an interpreter. It was rather weird when the interpreter was only a primary 5 pupil and that interpreter happened to be me. Sometimes, I asked myself whether I had

¹⁰⁵ 'Iban people' refers to one of the ethnic groups in Sarawak, Malaysia. The Ibans were the first ethnic community evangelised by the SPG missionaries in Sarawak.

¹⁰⁶ According to James Berinai, every student in the mission school was required to attend the worship service conducted by the missionary teachers. Personal communication on 11 May 2009.

¹⁰⁷ Based on my interviews with Jocelyn Swanston (Thomas) on 17 April 2009 and a former student in a mission school on 11 May 2009, this was the practice in the 1960s in Segama Mission. The missionaries had to train their students to be interpreters since they couldn't speak the language of the people. According to Jocelyn Swanston, James Berinai, who was then in primary five was her main interpreter and she had to practise with him for hours before they preached in the church or to the villages.

¹⁰⁸ Jeanes S. M., 'History of the Epiphany Mission, Tongud,' The Sabah Diocese Silver Jubilee 1987: 81.

¹⁰⁹ Personal communication with Jocelyn Swanston on 17th April 2009 and confirmed by the former students (personal conversations which took place in April– May 2009).

translated the text correctly. But I guessed I had due to the fact that both parties seemed to understand what was going on. God was with me at those very moments and had guided me throughout.¹¹⁰

Thus, the mission schools played a significant role in evangelism and Christian nurture for the spreading the Gospel and teaching the Christian faith. They provided an effective place, particularly for evangelism. Most of the students were converted to Christianity and nurtured in faith through Christian instruction at school.¹¹¹ This was possible because the syllabi and curriculum of the mission schools were devised by the Christian missionaries and geared towards evangelism and Christian nurture.¹¹² Swanston asserted:

The syllabi and curriculum were written in the UK for use in the colonies and their use was mandatory. Students who wished to get into any secondary school had to pass the end-of-course examination. It was very British in its content. We could do nothing to change this and the students did cope.¹¹³

In Segama, James Wong, the new assistant Bishop of North Borneo, baptised 50 people and confirmed the first 43 new church members in 1960.¹¹⁴ In 1962, it was reported that there were twenty Christian villages, 273 people had been baptised, and 100 people had been confirmed.¹¹⁵ In the Kinabatangan and Labuk areas, mass conversion was a norm. This was an approach practised in the long houses in Sarawak and was implemented in the Kinabatangan and Labuk areas by the Iban missionaries who had been influenced by SPG missionaries in Sarawak.

Gradually, indigenous people, mostly men, were trained as catechists to assist the missionaries in sharing the Christian faith, especially in areas distant from the mission centres. Catechetical instruction in this catechist system was an effective Christian education strategy for evangelism but not sufficient for Christian nurture or pastoral care because the catechists had insufficient theological training and biblical knowledge.

¹¹⁰ Personal communication with one of the former students in St Stephen's School, Segama Mission in the early 1960s on 11 May 2009.

¹¹¹ The students evangelized their families and relatives in their own language.

¹¹² Although the syllabi and curriculum were geared for evangelism and Christian nurture the gospel was not inculturated to the culture of the indigenous people. Thus, Western culture was understood to be the culture for Christians. For example, names of students that were believed to be associated with traditional religious beliefs were considered inappropriate and therefore changed to Western names, thought to be the appropriate names for Christians.

¹¹³ Personal communication on 28 October 2012.

¹¹⁴ In the pioneering period, it was the practice of the Anglican Church to baptise children together with their parents.

¹¹⁵ Jeanes 'History of the Epiphany Mission, Tongud' in Diocese of Sabah Silver Jubilee 1987: 82.

Thus, apart from the Sunday services, the indigenous people had little opportunity to learn more about the Christian faith.

In 1958, a mission was started in the Labuk River, which was considered by Bruce Sandilands as a potential place for evangelism. In his discussion with Lomax, he explained that:

Labuk and Sapi, I think will grow as fast as we can keep up with it. Thus here I would put the emphasis on getting a church established as soon as possible and naturally fall in and help with other developments, but keep your eye on the essential need of a church and as communications develop in this area as I am almost certain they will, so it will be easier for more contacts to be made.¹¹⁶

The discussion between Sandilands and Lomax reflected their enthusiasm in not only developing the mission in Labuk and Sapi but also expanding it to other parts in Sabah through evangelism – converting the indigenous people to Christianity. Their conversation echoed the missiological goals of the SPG. In the light of this new development, Francis Kiri, another catechist from Sarawak, started an Anglican primary school in Kuala Sapi, which became the mission centre in the Labuk River area. Subsequently, other missionaries were sent to evangelise the indigenous people in the Labuk area. By the end of 1965, there were about 100 baptised and confirmed Christians in this area.

The Bishop of Jesselton, James Wong reported:

A God sent opportunity descended on us when the management of the Darvel Tobacco Plantations Limited offered us the school they built at Sungai Telewas for the Dusun children in the area. The CMS Australia promised to support it with funds channelled through the North Borneo Interior Mission account, and a Dayak teacher from Sarawak, Mr Robert Goh, has gone forward to organise the school, which we hope will open in August.¹¹⁷

Consequently, in 1961, another mission was created in the Segama River area in Lahad Datu. A CMS missionary couple, Laurie and Jenny Green, were sent to revive the mission work among the Chinese people in Lahad Datu and to pioneer the mission work among the indigenous people in the Segama River area.¹¹⁸ In 1963, Elsie Elliott, a nurse and Jocelyn Thomas, a teacher, both missionaries from CMS Australia arrived to work

¹¹⁶ Sandilands, Letter from Rev. Lomax to Bishop Cornwall quoting Bruce Sandilands, (7 November 1959).

¹¹⁷ Borneo Chronicle vol. 37 no. 4 (September 1961): 63

¹¹⁸ Newmarch 'A Report of the Church Missionary Society' Borneo Chronicle vol. 37 no. 4 (September 1961): 33.

among the indigenous people in the Segama River.¹¹⁹ In the St Stephen's mission in Segama, the teachers and nurses played the major role in implementing evangelistic outreach to the indigenous people since there was no residential priest. As mentioned above, one of their evangelism strategies, considered as the most effective strategy was to communicate the gospel to their students who came from animistic background and encourage them to, in turn, to evangelise their families and relatives.¹²⁰

Many people heard the Gospel, became catechumens, and were instructed in the Christian faith in the church. A lot of time was spent in teaching catechumens¹²¹ and training young Christians to help in the outreach. Unlike in the Kinabatangan area, there was no catechist in Segama. Christian instructions were carried out by the missionary teachers, assisted by elders of the church and students in the mission school.¹²² Along with the mission schools as a means of spreading the gospel, the mission clinics played a significant part in evangelism.¹²³ The missionary nurses evangelised their assistants and trained them to teach the Bible by employing storytelling methods with audio-visual aids such as pictures, gramophones and cassettes. The assistants were also asked to share their testimonies with the patients in the clinics.¹²⁴

Like Newmarch, Green and the other Australian CMS missionaries, they stressed personal evangelism, rather than mass conversion. Green stated:

The procedure is that seeking baptism I interview and then refer them to the Church, which at this present moment consists of all baptised members. We have none confirmed at

¹¹⁹ A Letter from the Bishop of Jesselton on Good Shepherd Sunday, 1963.

¹²⁰ For instance, my family became Christians when my brother who was a student in the mission school shared the gospel with my mother who later evangelized my father in the early 1960s.

¹²¹ According to Tutik Garuda, Jernih Kuropong and Francis Jelina (early converts in the Segama Mission), every baptism candidate had to go through one year of baptism class. Likewise confirmation class lasted for a year. It was the normal practice for the candidate to be interviewed or to go through an oral examination before being baptised or confirmed. (Personal communication on 24 May 2009). This was confirmed by Jocelyn Swanston (Thomas), one of the pioneering CMS missionaries in St Stephen's mission, Segama, Lahad Datu. (Personal communication on 1 May 2009).

¹²² Elders of the church such as Naat, Unig, Serinut, Antim, Matoh, Girim, Berinai, Biring, Naloh and many others were significant figures in assisting the missionaries in evangelism work in their respective villages. This continued when some of the Kadazandusun in Segama moved in a settlement scheme in Silabukan. This information is extracted from the Diary of Jocelyn Swanston (Thomas).

¹²³ It is acknowledged that medical mission work was an important way of reaching out to the indigenous people. Borneo (SPG Handbook Series), (1917): 41.

¹²⁴ Biring Balugang (my late mother) was an assistant in the mission clinic in Segama and later in Silabukan. She was trained by Pam Loutit (CMS missionary nurse) how to tell the Bible stories with teaching aids such as pictures and audio-visual instruments. It was part of her work in the clinic to do story telling and to share her personal testimonies as a new Christian convert to patients of the mission clinic.

present, the Church asks the questions and then after prayer and discussion decides that the candidates are to be accepted. The missionaries do not attend the meeting when the candidates are presented to the Church, but we are always ready to give advice only if the Church asks for it. The way the Christians have accepted this responsibility and the careful examination they give each candidate is something to praise the Lord for and I do feel it was a step that was of the Holy Spirit's guidance.¹²⁵

This process was intended to motivate new Christians to study the Christian teaching seriously. According to Jocelyn Thomas, there were bible teaching and discussions. The new converts were encouraged to ask questions concerning applications of the Bible teaching to their daily life. Moreover, Sunday schools and Bible school weekends were held in the mission's boarding house. When people decided to become Christians, they were counselled to see whether or not they really knew what they were talking about. The elders kept a keen pastoral eye on them to see that they stood firm and did not fall back into animistic habits. There are some wonderful testimonies of how God called some people to be Christians. Some were converted because of dreams and visions. They also had regular adult fellowship meetings in the missionaries' homes attended by about 70-80 people.¹²⁶ On one hand, it was organised, structured and considered as an effective way of imparting the Christian faith, but on the other hand, it was intimidating for the indigenous people who came from an oral culture to fully understand biblical teachings and church doctrines.¹²⁷ Thomas argued, 'We thought it was very important to have structure which would deal with a wide range of issues.'¹²⁸ For that reason, although many people responded to Christianity, there were some who thought Christianity was relevant only for those with formal education or for the younger generations. Christianity was associated with education. As a result, most parents allowed their children to become Christians as it was a means to get formal education but they, themselves, were reluctant to embrace the Christian faith, due to the missionary strategy that stressed cognitive knowledge. The formal and structured baptism and confirmation classes were not relevant to them so they were neither baptised nor confirmed.¹²⁹ If the missionaries had implemented a strategy that was less

¹²⁵ Green L., Annual Letter May 1964.

¹²⁶ Personal communication with Jocelyn Swanston on 3 November 2012.

¹²⁷ Personal communication with different individuals in December – March 2012.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ In the beginning years of the mission in the Segama River area, getting through the baptism and confirmation oral examinations were understood as the criteria for becoming a Christian. It was not surprising that most of the older people were apprehensive of becoming Christians since they did not have formal education.

formal and less structured in keeping with an oral culture, then they themselves could have guided the indigenous people to explore the teaching in a way that they could understand, assess, and respond to the truth of the Gospel.¹³⁰

5. ASSESSMENT OF THE ANGLICAN MISSION IN SABAH: THE STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF SPG AND CMS

During the SPG Annual Meeting in London in September 1959, R. Webster, a lay worker from North Borneo, was asked to report on the impact of the faith on the indigenous people of British Borneo. He spoke about three aspects that he had observed of the work of the missionaries in British Borneo: through the churches, through the mission schools, and through direct evangelism.¹³¹ As Swanston affirmed:

Apart from the school and the dispensary, the most important aim was the evangelism of the people. I took the lead in this having completed a Licentiate in Theology at Moore College, Sydney, which was the same qualification needed by the men for ordination in those days. Some of the more senior schoolboys such as Jelina, Robert, Peter, Simon, Amat and James, already had a reasonable grasp of English and without them, we could not have done all the evangelistic visiting in the kampongs just about every weekend. The boys were good interpreters and I spoke in simple English. They were willing to help. As I got to know them, I came to understand something of the culture and spiritual beliefs of the people. This understanding helped to bridge the cultural understanding.¹³²

These were the main approaches or methods used by the pioneering missionaries to evangelise and nurture the faith of the people. Many of the first converts were students in the mission schools, who consequently evangelised their families and neighbours in their own villages. Although the students were valuable assets to the work of the mission, they were too young to do the work of inculturation. K.M. George, a former mission school's principal, affirmed that one of the main purposes of the establishment of mission schools was to spread the Gospel and the essentials of Christian faith. Furthermore, he stressed that the education was essentially for Christianization, introducing 'literacy' so as to enable the converts to read the Bible in the village setting

¹³⁰ Little 1982: 42.

¹³¹ Borneo Mission Association: Report of Annual Meeting: 14-20, Borneo Chronicle September 1959 vol. 36 no. 1.

¹³² Personal communication on 1 May 2009.

or be trained for the role of evangelist/teachers to spread the gospel in new places. For this reason, church and school were so closely associated that the schools were a valuable arrangement by which Christian missionaries gathered children for training in evangelisation and contextualised the Gospel as a means of informing and being informed by the culture of the receiving people.

It is necessary to share the gospel within the culture to which the people belong. Aylward Shorter asserts that evangelization is more than verbal teaching and preaching since the Word is not simply proclaimed but it also must be celebrated and lived.¹³³ Thus, for Shorter, it is crucial to acknowledge, respect and understand the different cultures of the indigenous people for the Gospel to penetrate and be made relevant to the people since their cultures may also bring new insights to Christianity. In fact, evangelisation needs to be implemented as a dialogue between two cultures represented by the missionaries and receiving people respectively. It is mutual listening and reciprocal learning rather than imposing or transferring one's culture upon another culture. It is also important for the missionaries to acknowledge that the receiving people already have their own cosmology with its view of gods and spirits, which can hinder them from leaving their traditional culture. As a result, they may practise Christianity outwardly but still practise traditional beliefs inwardly. In order for evangelisation to be effective, connections must be made between the faith-story and the life experiences of the indigenous people enabling them to embrace the Christian faith and experience Christian living fully as part of the Christian community. This would be a powerful witness to the pluralistic society of Malaysia.

The Christian faith was imparted quite differently in the urban churches than in the churches in the interior parts of Sabah. The urban churches were more clergy-oriented while the churches in the interior were laity-oriented since most of the missionaries sent to the interior churches were teachers and nurses. As Swanston stated:

It is important to note that although we were only lay people, we were all theologically trained and like the clergy, felt called to the work just as they did. One great advantage of having no clergy with us was that as far as the government was concerned, we were 'below the radar'. We were spared some of the Anglican clericalism.

For many years, the only resident cleric in the Kinabatangan and Labuk areas was Arnold Puntang who was responsible for planting most of the indigenous churches.

¹³³ Shorter 1994: 7.

Although other members of the clergy made occasional visits to the interior parts of Sabah to baptise and celebrate the Holy Communion, they were not directly involved in sharing the gospel or in nurturing the new Christians in their faith. As pointed out above, due to the shortage of personnel, students in the mission schools were very involved in the outreach programmes of the church. This was an effective way of spreading the gospel but not for fostering Christian growth, that is, whole-life-discipleship that leads to Christian maturity. Thus, Christianity was not fully embraced by the people because the Christian message could not fully penetrate into their lives. Nevertheless, because Christianity was associated with education and medical care, the gospel was understood as the liberating power, not only for the soul, but also for body, mind and spirit.¹³⁴ A pioneering missionary commented:

There were people who decided to become Christians. They were then placed in groups for catechumen teaching, in preparation for Baptism. Each missionary had responsibility for a group of catechumens and they met weekly usually in the home of one of them. Lessons were always in the form of discussions and how the teaching related to life. Sometimes they brought up the subject of how the native religion related to the teaching they had. We delighted to see the Holy Spirit at work in their lives.¹³⁵

The mission schools both in the urban areas and in the interior rural areas played a significant role in evangelism from the beginning of the Anglican Church in Borneo.¹³⁶ As stated in Bishop Noel's report to the Borneo Mission Association in December 1932, 'Wherever, up and down the diocese, there is a Mission Station, there is too a Mission school'. The extent of the schools' influence as instruments of evangelisation cannot be over-estimated.¹³⁷

Historically, most of the early converts were the result of the Christian education programmes offered as part of the curriculum in schools in the 1960s. The mission schools provided modern and formal education¹³⁸ and also propagated the Christian

¹³⁴ In the Malaysian context, animism refers to the culture, beliefs, and practice of the indigenous peoples. Thus the indigenous people of Sabah come from animistic background that believed in the existence of different spirits guarding the universe. These spirits reside in the mountains, rivers, trees, in dark places such as caves, and everywhere. For instance, they depended upon traditional healing, which was associated with the power of different spirits found in animistic belief. Before the spread of Christianity, the indigenous people lived in fear and therefore used animals' blood to appease the spirits.

¹³⁵ Personal communication on 3 November 2012.

¹³⁶ George, 'The Contributions of Mission Schools to the Development of the Church and the State of Sabah,' in Diocese of Sabah Silver Jubilee 1987: 26-28.

¹³⁷ Bishop's Report, Borneo Mission Association: Annual Report for December 1932: 29

¹³⁸ The medium of instruction in the mission schools was English that implemented Cambridge curriculum as instructed by the British government. Taylor 'SPG and North Borneo', in Diocese of Sabah Silver Jubilee 1987: 20.

faith among the young people. Thus, future leaders were equipped for roles both in the church and in the society. Similarly, the mission clinics made a great impact on the lives of the people, gradually changing the views of the animistic indigenous peoples towards healthcare and healing.¹³⁹

6. CONCLUSION

In view of the fact that the pioneer missionaries were from England, Australia and Sarawak, some of the challenges and difficulties encountered in evangelism and Christian nurture were related to the cultural gap between the missionaries and the indigenous peoples. It was a cross-cultural mission that involved different cultures. Although the gospel was preached, converts made, and churches planted, cultural barriers prevented the indigenous peoples from fully understanding the Christian message as it was proclaimed. Many areas were evangelised but many people could not grasp the Gospel message fully. For instance, many respondents, especially the first generation Christians, expressed that it was not easy for them to grasp the teaching and preaching due to the language and cultural barriers between them and the missionaries. They perceived Christianity as poles apart from their spirituality. As a result, they struggled to let go of their own spirituality and their identity.¹⁴⁰ Thus, their faith was uninformed due to language inadequacy and cultural misunderstanding on the part of the missionaries. According to Bishop Cornwall, it was likely ‘that through language confusion many of [our] sermons and teachings must take on curious shapes in people’s minds...’¹⁴¹ According to Clifford Geertz:

Evangelisation is addressed to human individuals who belong to clearly defined social groupings and who are profoundly linked to a cultural tradition. The Gospel therefore cannot be transmitted to or from people independently of their culture. In one-way or another, the culture is being evangelised, along with its adepts. Evangelisation involves change – *metanoia*, or conversion of the heart, which is the aim of evangelisation. It involves a change at the deepest levels of cultural identity. Evangelisation challenges that basic worldview, the religious root of culture, and the final location of meaning. It is committed to bring about the most radical kind of change. The Church, in a word, is an agent of structural change.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Traditionally the indigenous people believed that evil spirits caused sicknesses and they believed in many different kinds of spirits. As a result, in every community, there were often priestesses who were responsible in performing the rituals and worship to appease the spirits whereas the traditional healers were responsible to bring healing to the sick. See chapter

¹⁴⁰ Based on conversations with members of the Anglican Diocese Sabah in 2009 – 2010.

¹⁴¹ A Letter from Bishop Nigel Cornwall on 15 June 1962, Borneo Chronicle September 1962 vol. 38 no. 2.

¹⁴² Geertz 1975: 54

Geertz observed that, ‘In the evangelisation process, people are presumed to retain their cultural autonomy, to make their own choices and their own structural change’.¹⁴³ Unfortunately, the evangelisation process during the pioneering stage did not give much opportunity for the receiving people to retain their cultural autonomy. Evangelisation was implemented without much consideration of the worldview of the receiving people that would have enabled them to make their own choices and their own structural changes. Many of the new converts were reluctant to leave their traditional religion and culture. They sought ways of reconciling the many views that were open to them. Outwardly they practised Christianity, but inwardly the traditional beliefs played a far more significant role in their everyday life. It is not surprising that some Christians still went to the witchdoctors when they were sick or practised their animistic beliefs while they continued attending church services on Sunday.

Geertz defines culture as, ‘A system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which human beings communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about, and their attitudes towards life’.¹⁴⁴ Accordingly, to implement effective evangelism and Christian nurture, the Christian message has to be contextualized. The Christian message needs to be made relevant to the spiritual maturity and needs of the people. It is crucial to know and understand a people’s culture because culture involves ‘their knowledge about, and attitudes towards life’, that is, language, history, stories, customs, lifestyle, accumulated wisdom and religion or beliefs into which they were born, by which they were shaped, and through which they find their identity as human beings.

In the early days of the Anglican mission, the people of Sabah had a limited understanding of the Christian message and were unable to embrace the Christian faith, particularly in the rural areas, specifically due to the language insufficiency and cultural insensitivity in the way the gospel was proclaimed. Sylvia M. Jeanes, a CMS missionary teacher in Tongud and at the same time in-charge of many congregations in the Kinabatangan area for many years, acknowledged the lack of cultural awareness of the missionaries in the past. As she observed:

Although many areas have been thoroughly evangelised, much of it has been superficial due to poor communication because of language inadequacy. Therefore churches are still

¹⁴³ Geertz 1975: 55

¹⁴⁴ Geertz 1975: 89.

very immature. Work is still needed in the local languages and the big task is to train those local leaders to build up their own congregations in their own languages.¹⁴⁵

The missionaries had the intention of transforming the lives of the indigenous peoples by imparting Christian faith for their spiritual formation and implementing Western education and worldview for their social development. However, according to some former students of the mission schools, they were given the impression that to be a Christian one needed to be westernised.¹⁴⁶ This could be due to the Eurocentric view of Christian faith of the missionaries. According to Aylward Shorter, faith in the gospel gives people freedom to be themselves. It helps people to discover their true nature, and it helps them to become what God wants them to be. It helps them to fulfil their true goal in God.¹⁴⁷ However, Swanston argued:

I believe the word 'westernize' needs definition. There are some useful aspects to westernization, including school-based education, incorporating literacy and numeracy that are useful skills to have. Another is the use of western medicine, which is more likely to heal people than berjin ceremonies are. Some of the people who decided to trust western medicine are alive today because of it.¹⁴⁸

English culture and English church culture, however, were considered as a way of civilisation. This could be one of the stumbling blocks of Christianity for the Muslims. This phenomenon affected the diocese because many non-Christians, particularly Muslims, viewed the Anglican Church as a form of latent colonialism, as something foreign to Asian culture. Many of the approaches used by the early missionaries were imperialistic, and disregarded the indigenous people's cultural practices, beliefs and values. There was no dialogue between the two cultures and as a result, the mutual listening and reciprocal learning necessary for evangelism did not take place due to language and cultural barriers. In many ways, the indigenous cultures were deliberately undermined. Due to a lack of understanding of the indigenous peoples' religio-cultural background, they were perceived as transporting Western religion and culture. Christianity was regarded as a Western religion and associated with colonialism. The gospel message was not communicated in ways the indigenous peoples comprehended and they therefore could not embrace the Christian faith in a manner that enabled them to retain their identities.

¹⁴⁵ Jeanes S. M. 'History of the Epiphany Mission, Tongud': 84.

¹⁴⁶ Personal communications with former students of the mission schools in November – December 2009.

¹⁴⁷ See Shorter A. (1994): 48.

¹⁴⁸ Personal communication with Jocelyn Swanston on 3 November 2012.

Despite Sabah's political independence in 1963, the Anglican Church was still associated with colonialism. Many of the indigenous peoples, especially the Malays, were suspicious of the church and saw the mission schools as means of continued colonialism and Westernisation. The Eurocentric Christianity imposed by the early missionaries did not appeal to them because it was identified as a European religion. In retrospect, it is unfortunate that some people resisted the gospel because they perceived it as a threat to their own culture.¹⁴⁹

Despite the many barriers, difficulties and dangers that were encountered in the early years, the mistakes made consciously and unconsciously, the lessons taught and learnt by both the missionaries and the receiving peoples, it is evident that it was the gospel vision of the love of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit that made it possible for the gospel to be proclaimed and for the Christian message to be received by the indigenous peoples. The receiving peoples are grateful to God not only for the Christian faith they have received, but also for the ministries they received from the sending churches.¹⁵⁰ The commitment, perseverance and the sacrifice of the early missionaries made the proclamation of the Gospel in Sabah possible in spite of their language inadequacy and lack of understanding of the indigenous peoples' religio-cultural background.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Generally the indigenous people in Sabah come from non-literate traditions - cultural information and knowledge are transmitted or passed on orally through custom and practice.

¹⁵⁰ Former students in the mission schools: Tutik Garuda, Jernih Kerupong, James Berinai and Francis Jelina all testified that the missionaries in the Segama Mission were very genuine in proclaiming the gospel and in transforming the lives of the people through education, medical and health care as well as their concern for the welfare of the indigenous peoples in spite of the many difficulties. (Interviews conducted on 11 May 2009 and 24 May 2009 respectively).

¹⁵¹ According to some individuals who became Christians in the late 1950s and early 1960s, one of the things that attracted them to Christianity was the sacrifice of the missionaries to leave their countries and families in order to share the gospel to them in the remote areas/in the jungles. It was unimaginable for them to let go of their children to do such 'mission'. Personal communication in August 2009 and September 2010.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODS

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the research findings based on the survey conducted with members of the Malay-speaking congregations, particularly in the first three mission stations of the Anglican Church in Sabah: Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama areas in 2009 to 2012. The survey was conducted with two objectives. First, it was to investigate how Christianity in the form of Anglicanism has challenged and influenced the specific religio-cultural background of the Kadazandusun and its subsequent implications for the understanding of the gospel. Second, it is also to assess the reactions or responses of the Malay-speaking congregations in general to the Anglican worship and its impact on their spirituality. It is anticipated that the result of the survey will provide insights into ways of inculturating the liturgical worship in order for it to be relevant to the Kadazandusun and effective for their spirituality.

As stated in the methodology section in chapter 1, the investigation was conducted by employing surveys in the forms of interviews and questionnaire. The interviews were intended to retrieve, analyse and interpret the reactions and responses of the Kadazandusun to the missionaries' Eurocentric understanding of their spirituality using Western-oriented approaches in imparting the Christian faith, specifically through Anglican liturgical worship.

2. ETHICAL FRAMEWORK

This research was performed considering certain ethical issues¹ related to anonymity and confidentiality² besides abiding to ecclesiastical procedures of the Anglican Diocese

¹ For discussion on ethics in qualitative research, see Hammersley, M. and Traianou, A., (2012), *Ethics in Qualitative Research: Controversies and Context*, London: SAGE; Miller, T., Birch, M., Mauthner, M. and Jessop, J. (eds.) (2nd edn.), (2012), *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, London: SAGE; Wiles, R. (2013), *What are Qualitative Research Ethics*, London: Bloomsbury; Silverman, D. (2013), *Doing Qualitative Research*, London: SAGE.

of Sabah and socio-cultural practice of the Kadazandusun community. For this reason, as a researcher, I managed the issues of confidentiality and anonymity by getting consent from the participants as well as from the diocesan bishop, resident priests and elders in the community before conducting the interviews.

Before proceeding with the survey, I informed and explained to the people concerned and involved in the interviews about the purpose of the research and how the raw data they provided were managed and protected. In view of this ethical framework, I avoided mentioning names and roles or positions of the participants in their respective churches and communities unless with their consent. This was a way of preventing any unnecessary and sensitive issues or controversies to develop. This is also important in the ethical constraints of the Malaysian context in relation to subjects such as race, religion and politics, which are regarded as sensitive and controversial.

I also explained to them that although this research was designed as an assessment of the influence of Christianity as a result of the encounter between Christianity and Kadazandusun's religio-cultural background by critiquing the Eurocentric and Western oriented approaches employed by missionaries, the goal of this research was to propose relevant approaches of inculturating the Anglican worship for the implications of the spirituality of the Kadazandusun. It was never intended to dignify any individuals and groups or to create any unnecessary controversies.

In addition, I assured them that was no compulsion for any individuals or groups to participate in the interviews and conversations related to the research. As a researcher, I respected the wish of individuals who preferred to remain 'anonymous' or to keep their comments 'off the record' and even valued their rights to withdraw from the survey.³

² Both confidentiality and anonymity are taken into serious consideration in qualitative research. The two terms are distinct and yet related concepts. Confidentiality concerns the protection of data provided by participants private, whereas anonymity is about keeping the data confidential. See Wiles, R. (2013): 54.

³ There were individuals and groups who decided not to be interviewed in the last minute for personal or specific reasons or who simply ignored my e-mails and phone calls.

3. METHOD AND PROCEDURE

This section summarizes the survey research method and explains how and why it was designed and implemented. As stated above, for the purpose of collecting primary data in the assessment of the encounter between Christianity and Kadazandusun's religio-cultural beliefs and practices, which will be deliberated in chapter 5, I designed a survey in the forms of interviews and questionnaires.

The term 'survey' refers to qualitative interview for the purpose of recovering untold stories and unheard perspectives of the Kadazandusun, specifically the first generation Christians because they come from a tradition that privileges orality. As a result, there is hardly any written document from the perspective of the Kadazandusun or documented by the first generation Christians. The historical materials concerning the beginning of the Anglican mission among the Kadazandusun in Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama areas were written by missionaries or visitors from mission organisations from abroad. Although the documents were written about the mission and the local people they were from their perspectives based on their interpretations.

Based on my readings of the history of the Anglican Church as discussed in chapter 4, it is important to acknowledge that most of the letters, diaries, manuscripts, historical records and ecclesiastical documents were written and reported by bishops and priests in Borneo or visiting bishops and priests or significant guests from mission organisations such as SPG and CMS. Barely any documents written by lay missionaries who served in the rural areas of Sabah in the beginning of the Anglican mission. In view of this, I designed this research with the intention of uncovering, analysing and interpreting untold or forgotten stories of different individuals who were involved in the establishment of the Anglican Church so as to supplement the existing archival records and to examine the encounter between Christianity and the spirituality of the Kadazandusun from another perspective. Due to the qualitative nature of this research, the findings therefore did not demonstrate statistical or produce numerical results as in quantitative research.

This research method was intentionally selected in order to give voices not only to clergy or theologically trained persons but also to lay people including women and youths consistent with the objective of inculturation – the task of the community. It is

also intended for acquiring an inclusive representation and a balanced view. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that youths are becoming the majority worshippers in most Malay-speaking congregations. Thus, it was essential that they were given the opportunity to share their perspectives about worship, focusing on their assessment of the current worship in the Anglican worship. Hopefully, the outcome of this survey reveals significant themes or new directions that can be considered and developed as ways of inculturating the Anglican worship in Sabah.

Initially most of the participants were quite hesitant to be engaged in the interviews because none of them has been interviewed for academic research purposes before. Besides, there were participants who expressed their anxieties in case their names were mentioned or their statements were cited. For the sake of ethical reasons, I approached their resident priests before conducting any interviews in order to get consent from the church and also as a sense of respect and accountability since priests are acknowledged as pastoral leaders in the Anglican Church. Moreover, it was also a way of assuring the priests and participants of the importance of the research for the Anglican Church and the implications of their participation.

In order to give a better understanding of the goal of the research and the significance of their involvement, I approached the participants individually or in groups in order to get their willingness⁴ and agreement to participate in the interviews. In our conversations, I explained to them the nature and purpose of my research and the significance of every individual and group's engagement in the process and outcome of my research. In view of their hesitancy, we agreed to use the term 'conversations' or *bercerita* in the Malay language or *mututuran* in Kadazandusun language instead of 'interviews', which sounded less intimidating or non-threatening. We also agreed not to use audio and video recorders during the conversations. However, they allowed me to take down notes of significant points in our conversations as long as they remained anonymous.

⁴ There were people who were not willing to participate in the interviews by not answering my initial e-mails explaining the nature of my research, the purpose of the survey and requesting their consent to be engaged in face-to-face interviews, group interviews or e-interviews. I respected their unwillingness to participate in the interviews.

The interviews or conversations were conducted in various ways: face-to-face interviews, group interviews, e-interviews – e-mails, social media interviews and phone calls.

The face-to-face interviews were mainly semi-structured and conducted with individuals. The questionnaire [see Appendix I (a)] was normally sent or given earlier in order for the participants to understand and reflect on the questions. For non-literate participants, I normally began our conversation in the format of unstructured interviews and gradually incorporated the questions as set in the questionnaire. During the interview, the participant was encouraged to answer the questions and give his or her reflections and perspectives based on his/her spiritual journey experience and observations. There was time allocated for discussion on any questions or other questions related to the topic.

The group interviews were designed for individuals coming from the Malay-speaking congregations in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah with the intention of discussing topics related to the questionnaire [see Appendix I (b)]. It was conducted during the Diocesan Women Conference in Epiphany Mission in Kinabatangan in August 2009 and in St Thomas Mission in Sandakan in September 2010. The participants represented various Malay-speaking congregations in the diocese.

The group interviews adopted the traditional way of assembling known as ‘round table discussion’ – ten to twelve participants sitting in a circle. This manner of coming together is relevant to the Kadazandusun culture. It indicates that every member of a group is significant and therefore has the right to be heard even if his/her perspective is based on a personal story, encounter, experience or dream.⁵ Moreover, ‘round-table discussion’ symbolises the unity of a group. Although there is a person who leads the group his/her role is to moderate or facilitate and not to rule.

As agreed, the group interviews were conducted in informal ways or in the forms of conversations and discussions in order not to intimidate or embarrass any participants, especially the non-literate ones. The interviews were semi-structured and unstructured depending on the dynamics of each group.

⁵ Traditionally indigenous peoples share their perspectives in the form of storytelling and experiences.

Thus, employing group interviews in the survey – ‘round table discussion’ is appropriate to the culture of the participants and less threatening to the participants. It is because of the group dynamics as a result of the interactions between group members.⁶ Moreover, a group interview is a good strategy for gathering data simultaneously from a wide spectrum of representatives coming from different parts of the diocese.⁷

Telephone interviews were conducted due to two main reasons: the geographical distance of the participants and internet limitations in their respective locations.⁸ However, telephone interviews were also used as a follow-up with individuals who were willing to provide more information on any of questions in the questionnaire or to share his/her perspectives on the research.

E-interviews⁹ were conducted with youths across the diocese and members of the Anglican Church as well as former diocesan priests living abroad. For the youths, I uploaded the questionnaire [Appendix 1d] in a closed group Facebook account ‘Members of the Anglican Worldwide (BM) that was created and managed by a team of youth leaders including youth workers and schoolteachers in the diocese. To date there are 2,433 members. The same questionnaire was also uploaded in the Anglican Training Institute (ATI) Facebook account consisting of 124 members and most of them are evangelists serving in the Malay-speaking congregations.

The interviews were mostly semi-structured and sometimes unstructured depending on how the conversations progressed. I designed open-ended questions to enable the participants to reflect and share openly about their Christian life experiences and perspectives on the impact of Christianity on their spirituality, specifically through worship. This is also appropriate for the Kadazandusun way of communication – not to be direct or forceful because it can be perceived as offensive or aggressive. Thus, as a researcher and interviewer, I tried to make the conversations and discussions

⁶ See Taylor, S. J. and Bogdan, R., *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods* (3rd ed.), New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998.

⁷ For further discussion on Focus Group Interviews, see Edmunds, H., *The Focus Group Research Handbook*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000. See also Stewart, D. W. and Shamdasani, P. M. *Focus Groups: Theory and Practice*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

⁸ In Sabah, generally every family has one or more cell phones since the 1990s.

⁹ For discussion about e-interviews, see Berg, 2009: 126-127.

comfortable and not intimidating. I avoided using theological terms or foreign words and phrases especially with the elderly and non-literate participants. Furthermore, I also tried to be sensitive to the feelings of the participants since most of the questions focused on experiences and feelings and dealt with subjective perspectives. Thus, in order to encourage the participants to be engaged in the interviews, I assured them that there was no correct or wrong answer to the questions. It was interesting that we often concluded our interviews in prayers – interceding for the Anglican Diocese of Sabah.

4. PARTICIPANTS

Participants in the interviews included:

- 1) 70 individuals representing first generation Christians, former students of mission schools, former missionaries, clergy, lay readers and elders.
- 2) Women delegates of the Diocesan Women Conference in August 2009 (representing 178 Malay-speaking congregations) and Women's Seminar organised by St. Thomas Mission in September 2010 (representing 17 Malay-speaking congregations).
- 3) 20 men and 30 women – members of various Bible-study cum fellowship meetings.
- 4) 120 youths – members of various Malay-speaking congregations in the diocese.

As the researcher, I intentionally chose participants representing different Christian experiences, age groups or generations, gender, and roles or positions in the church owing to the fact that the process of inculturation involves the community comprising women, men, laity and not merely theologians. Moreover, I selected participants or interviewees who were willing to assist me by providing information addressed in the research problem of this thesis.¹⁰

5. PURPOSE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

This investigation recognises the significance of integrating the opinions of the Malay-speaking congregations into the findings of the thesis. In view of that, three types of questionnaires were designed for the survey: questions for face-to-face interviews, group interviews, and e-interviews.

¹⁰ Silverman, D., (2013), *Doing Qualitative Research*, London: SAGE, p. 203.

The questions were written in the Malay language and English but the interviews were conducted either in Kadazandusun, Malay or English depending on the spoken language or preference of each respective participant.

5.1 First questionnaire [Appendix 1a]

The interviews were conducted to retrieve untold stories or unheard conversations from first generation Christians concerning their life experiences and reflections of their spirituality. We began the unstructured interviews or conversations with these questions:

How long have you been a Christian and a member of the Anglican Church?

Why did you decide to become a Christian?

How did you become a Christian?

What was the biggest challenge of deciding to become a Christian?

Would you like to share your personal story (*kesaksian*)¹¹ about your conversion?

The progress of any semi-structured interview is usually determined by a participant's responses to these initial questions. As a researcher, I listen attentively and reflectively to the participants' conversations or stories in order to understand their experiences that are usually interweaved with their spiritual journey or Christian experiences. Moreover, it is important to try and construct their experiences and stories but not try to romanticise their stories.

5.2 Second questionnaire [Appendix 1b]

The interviews were conducted among a wide spectrum of members representing the Malay-congregations – members of various Bible-study cum fellowship meetings (women and men with the age range of 16 to 45) and women delegates of the Diocesan Women Conference and Women Seminar (age range of 20 to 60).

The objectives of the questionnaire were: to listen to the stories of the participants, and then to analyze and interpret their perspectives on the impact of Christianity in the form of Anglicanism by means of liturgical worship on their spirituality. New insights and proposals on how worship can be made more relevant, meaningful and edifying or 'inculturated'¹² were anticipated as the outcome of the

¹¹ *Kesaksian* is understood as personal testimony of one's conversion. A participant's *kesaksian* can be considered as looking into the 'window' of his/her life as a Christian.

¹² I avoided using theological or missiological terms during the interviews.

interviews.

5.3 Third questionnaire [Appendix 1c]

The e-interviews were conducted among youths in the diocese. This kind of interview is less controlled and the focus is on collecting opinions. However, I conducted the e-interviews with the intention of getting feedback concerning the current worship. Moreover, it was my aim to gather different ideas and new perspectives from the respondents about the future of worship in the Anglican Church. I analysed and interpreted their responses to the questions, which were not always answered directly but indicated or reflected upon. As with the group interviews, I examined similar themes and patterns.

6. RESULTS AND DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis is based on the results of the numerous interviews conducted with different individuals and groups as mentioned earlier. The results are anticipated to reflect the common themes that arise in relation to the assessment of the impact of the gospel presented in the form of Anglicanism on the spirituality of the Kadazandusun, representing the Malay-speaking congregations of the Anglican Diocese of Sabah. Stated below is the summary of the results of the three main different interviews:

6.1 First questionnaire

Since the questions in the first questionnaire were related to the participants' reflections and perspectives based on their personal Christian experiences or spiritual journey, the answers reflected their personal views and opinions – 'shaped by the social process of living in a culture.'¹³

The common themes that emerged from their responses and stories are associated with their lives before conversion to Christianity and life as Christians and members of the Anglican Church. These themes are discussed in chapter 6, 'The Encounter between the Indigenous People Cultural and Religious Beliefs and Christianity in Sabah' of this thesis.

¹³ Berg, 2009: 178.

6.2 Second questionnaire

The responses of the various groups to the second questionnaire reflected their collective ideas shared and negotiated by each particular group. From their collective responses, I identified trends and patterns that resurface either within a single group or among a succession of groups. I also looked for variations by examining similar used words or phrases, themes and responses to the questions. However, I was cautious not to quantify the results based on the voices or responses of the majority. As a researcher, I reflected on the intensity or emphasis and the consistency of the comments and responses within a group and across a succession of groups.¹⁴ In addition, I also observed the facial expressions and body language of the participants in order to assist me in my data analysis and interpretation. The results of the group interviews are deliberated in chapter 8, ‘Anglican Worship and Kadazandusun Spirituality: A Critique of the Encounter’.

6.3 Third questionnaire

The participants were given the choice to respond to the questions posed in the e-interviews either via personal e-mails, personal Facebook messages or in the form of an interactive forum in the space created in the ‘Members of Anglican Worldwide (BM)’ Facebook account. Furthermore, the participants were free to respond to any questions and not necessarily to all the questions. In the interactive forum, they were given the opportunity to share ideas or to respond and to critique each other’s perspectives and assessments of the current Anglican worship. In the course of analysing the variety of responses from the participants, particularly on their assessment of Anglican worship, I was able to identify significant characteristics of the Anglican worship that they consider relevant and meaningful or irrelevant and ineffective. Besides their assessment of the Anglican worship, they also suggested some ideas and ways of ‘renewing’ the styles and format of the liturgical book. The findings of this third questionnaire are examined and integrated in chapter 9, ‘Vision for the Future: Proposal for Deepening the Inculturation of Anglican Worship in Sabah’.

¹⁴ Berg, 2009: 180-181.

7. VALIDATION

Guba and Lincoln¹⁵ in their work, 'Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research' suggest two main criteria for assessing the validity of a qualitative research – credibility and transferability of the findings. Considering the importance of the validity of a qualitative research, as a researcher, I have taken four steps to ensure the validity of this research:

First, I examined the data collection methods: qualitative interviews and questionnaire, by questioning and verifying their reliability. For this purpose, I made sure that the interviews and questionnaires involved a wide spectrum of the indigenous people in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah. This is to ensure that I receive a wide variety of responses from different individuals and age groups. I also identified certain members of the groups and did follow-up interviews in order to acquire detailed information. In addition, I made sure that the data were collected legally and ethically by getting consent from the respondents personally, from their respective priests and from the diocesan Bishop as well as according to Malaysian law.

Second, I selected reliable individuals and groups to be involved in the research. The participants including those who were engaged in e-interviews were not chosen randomly. In this way, I was confident that the people who provided the data were accountable for the outcome of the research. I also examined the participants' responses by comparing their conflicting perspectives to ensure their reliability.

Third, I validated my research by working closely with my two supervisors to whom I am accountable academically as well as ethically. In addition, I also contact the diocesan office from time to time for official information related to my research. For the reliability of certain data related to the history of the Anglican mission among the indigenous peoples, I sometimes contacted former missionaries, bishops, priests or elders because of their involvement in the establishment of the Anglican Church.

¹⁵ Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, Y. S., (1994), 'Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research,' in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, SAGE.

8. LIMITATIONS

I acknowledge three main limitations of the survey that was conducted through interviews that might have influenced the findings of this research.

First, it is not my intention to approach this research as a neutral researcher due to my personal context as a significant insider discussed in the methodology section in chapter 1. I am aware that in any research project, the role and philosophy of the researcher inescapably influence the subjects chosen, the objectives of study, the methodology employed, and the analysis applied.¹⁶ Nevertheless, as a researcher, it is essential for me to be objective in analysing and interpreting the data by putting aside any personal biases or assumptions and cultural judgments despite the fact that interpretations are neither absolute nor perfect. Thus, as a researcher, I have the responsibility to look for the closest correspondence between reality and interpretation.¹⁷

Second, the research method employed in this survey is qualitative in nature. In view of this, the interviews that were conducted with individuals, groups, via e-mails, telephone calls and the internet were semi-structured and unstructured. The data were based on the participants' personal experiences and reflections and therefore could not be measured or interpreted objectively. Furthermore, the findings of this research cannot be accepted as quantitatively valid research. However, as a researcher, it was my task to examine, analyse and interpret the data as accurately as possible.

Third, the issues of anonymity and confidentiality as deliberated in the Ethical Framework section could be restraining in presenting the findings. But as a researcher, I am accountable for the anonymity of the participants and the confidentiality of the data they provided. For that reason, I tried my best to work within the parameters.

¹⁶ Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, Y. S., 'Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research,' in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications, Inc., 1994: 116.

¹⁷ Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 1-17.

9. CONCLUSION

The research findings conducted through the various interviews indicate the lack of inculturation both in the impartation of the gospel and in worship since the pioneering stage of the Anglican mission until today. Thus, it is crucial to continue assessing the encounter between Christianity and the Kadazandusun's religio-cultural beliefs and practices, and critiquing the impact of Christianity to the spirituality of the Kadazandusun with the aim of deepening inculturation – the interaction between gospel and culture including worship and culture.

Examining the data collected during the survey, the common themes that arise out of the responses of the participants reflect the need for the gospel to be fully understood and embraced within the culture of the Kadazandusun or other ethnic communities included in the Malay-speaking congregations. Likewise, the responses from the youths concerning the current worship in the Anglican Church clearly reveal how critical it is to consider liturgical inculturation in order for the Anglican worship to be relevant to the Kadazandusun's culture, and to be meaningful and effective for their indigenous spirituality.

CHAPTER 6

THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND ANGLICAN CHRISTIANITY IN SABAH

1. INTRODUCTION

In chapter 3, I discussed the religio-cultural beliefs of the indigenous peoples of Sabah, Malaysia. Chapter 4 outlined the history of the Anglican Church in Sabah, Malaysia. In this chapter, I examine the impact of Christianity on the religious beliefs of the indigenous peoples. As discussed in chapter 4, the SPG missionaries introduced Christianity in the form of Anglicanism to the indigenous peoples of Borneo as part of the expansion of the Church of England. As in other parts of the world, Christian missionaries in Southeast Asia had benefited from the favourable climate established by European colonialism. Bruce Kaye in his book, *An Introduction to World Anglicanism*, argues, ‘The growth of worldwide Anglicanism has been portrayed as an aspect of British imperial history, or as simply the result of the nineteenth century English missionary movement.’¹ Both are true.

Examining the history of the SPG missionaries to Sarawak (1848) and to Sabah (1888) as discussed in chapter 4, it is obvious that in presenting Christianity through the lens of Anglicanism, they introduced Western technology. Also many facets of Western life were introduced, including modern education and scientific medicine. Proclaiming and teaching the Gospel along with education and scientific medicine were their mission strategies in transforming the spiritual and social life of the indigenous peoples, whom they perceived and identified, as ‘heathens’ or ‘pagans’.² Likewise, the CMS missionaries who came in 1954 collaborated with the SPG missionaries and shared similar visions and goals in bringing about the spiritual and social transformation to the indigenous peoples in Sabah. Subsequently, the SPG and CMS missionaries succeeded

¹ Kaye 2008: 43.

² During the pioneering stage of the Anglican mission, the Christian missionaries called the indigenous people of Borneo as ‘heathens’ and ‘pagans’. Mofatt 1844: 244, 257-268.

in converting many indigenous peoples to Christianity. They converted them, particularly the young generation through the social services of education and medicine. This resulted in changes to their traditions particularly their worldview and belief system (religion). Secular education, modern technology and a capitalist economic system were the key influences.³

To assess the impact of Christianity on the religio-cultural beliefs of the indigenous peoples, it is crucial to examine the encounter between the indigenous peoples' religio-cultural beliefs and Christianity as represented by the SPG and CMS missionaries during the pioneering stage of the mission. In what follows I analyse how the two different cultures and belief systems intersected with one another so as to identify some converging and diverging religious features that provide insights into positive aspects of spirituality that were, or were not, recognised by the missionaries.

Kaye asserts that Christianity, which had been locally shaped in the English nation and its culture was transported overseas into many different places and cultures. In so doing, English Anglicanism had to wrestle with new and unfamiliar contexts.⁴ Furthermore, he acknowledges that what Anglicans transported to the contemporary encounter was a mixture of practices and beliefs that had been established over many generations.⁵ His statement echoes what happened in many regions of Sabah, where Anglicanism was introduced and implemented by Anglican missionaries. In Sabah, the encounter that I am examining was between Anglicanism and the religio-cultural beliefs of the Kadazandusun.

David Burnett, in his book entitled, *Unearthly Powers: a Christian's Handbook on Primal and Folk Religions*, contends that the major obstacle faced by missionaries communicating the Christian message is that the people already had their own cosmology with its view of God and spirits.⁶ According to him, there are two ways for the missionaries to deal with this problem. First, by rejecting the receiving people's traditional God, they rejected the heart of their culture and denied their deepest feelings.

³ The early missionaries had the tendency to approach everything pre-Christian as uncivilized or primitive.

⁴ Kaye 2008: 41.

⁵ Kaye 2008: 9.

⁶ Burnett 1988: 42.

As a result, the people sought some way of reconciling the many views that were open to them. Outwardly, they practised Christianity, but inwardly they continued to practise their traditional beliefs. The second approach is to accept the already existing concept of a creator God present in the people's consciousness and then trying to transform these concepts into one that coheres with biblical perspectives. Nevertheless, the missionaries still need to discern and to make a clear distinction between any associations of the Christian revelation of the Supreme Being with that of any of the lesser-created deities. Likewise, George R. Saunders, in *Culture and Christianity: the dialectics of transformation*, states that the acceptance of a new religion does not necessarily mean rejecting the old. He adds that Christianity and indigenous or traditional religion may not be perceived as alternative or complementary but equally 'real'. A person may reject the life associated with the previous belief without rejecting the beliefs.⁷

According to Burnett, Saunders and other writers' arguments about communicating the Gospel and implementing the Christian message to indigenous peoples, in the past there was a lack of dialogue between the pioneering missionaries and traditional culture. Lack of mutual communication or dialogue between them was the main hindrance to the understanding of the Gospel and Christian message into their lives. Mutual listening and reciprocal learning are necessary in order to convey the Christian message effectively rather than in a domineering way.⁸ By doing so, the receivers' culture is not deliberately undermined and perceived as 'pagan' but respected.⁹ Since missionaries had the tendency to use Western cultural frameworks, they were able to relate to the Christian message cognitively and affectively and to identify it with their own experience.¹⁰ Most did not learn the culture of the indigenous peoples. In this sense, conversion to Christianity was not merely a change in religious affiliation but a transformation of a people's cosmological and moral assumptions as the indigenous people moved from their traditional beliefs focused on an unknown God to Christian faith that leads them to God through Jesus Christ understood from a Western perspective. (Acts 17: 22-23)

⁷ Saunders 1988: 181.

⁸ Barker, 'We are Ekklesia: Conversion in Uiaku, Papua New Guinea' in Hefner 1993: 199-201.

⁹ The word 'pagan' is not necessarily derogative. Technically it refers to 'a person not subscribing to any of the main world religions' – especially those identifying divinity or spirituality in nature.

¹⁰ 'The missionary must become a culture learner in order to perceive cultural diversity.' Van Rheezen 1991: 33.

2. THE IDEA OF RELIGION AND CONVERSION

Prior to the coming of Islam and Christianity to Sabah, the word ‘religion’ was foreign to the indigenous peoples. There was no word for ‘religion’ in the vocabulary of the indigenous peoples since their religious or spiritual life was integrated in their culture.¹¹ The indigenous peoples’ distinctive worldview was characterised by their unique cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system. The cultural and social characteristics that are incorporated with the traditional legal system are called *adat*. These are regarded as a fundamental part of their identity. *Adat* is the definitive principle for their community and is a way of life for every individual in the community. All are bound and accountable to one another by the *adat*. It is considered a definitive law that keeps every individual intact and maintains the order and harmony in the community. *Adat* is referred to as ‘law’ because it is a custom that is implemented to regulate lives and resolve disputes between individuals, families and ethnic communities while preserving social cohesion and unity. The indigenous peoples generally monitor their internal legal and social matters according to their traditions, as an integral part of their identity. *Adat* reflects both their worldview and their view towards life.¹² Nonetheless, *adat* is not an ideology but rather a starting point, and a frame of reference in deciding or resolving social matters.¹³ Despite the significance of *adat* in the ordinary life of the indigenous peoples, this does not indicate that they are not religious. According to Hooker, if custom is strong, religion or the *belief system* is correspondingly strong. Both religious law and the customary law (*adat*) are the offspring of the covenant.¹⁴ As outlined in chapter 3, the indigenous peoples of Sabah acknowledge the existence of *Kinoringan*, the creator God. They recognise that they are part of God’s creation – ‘their response to ultimate reality.’¹⁵

¹¹ *Adat* can be seen as their traditional ideology since *adat* governs life. When the missionaries introduced Christianity or the ‘new religion’, *adat* became the ‘old religion’. As a result, the missionaries challenged the universality of *adat*.

¹² *Adat* varies from one ethnic community to another. However, it forms a common universal base for all the Kadazandusun ethnic communities.

¹³ See Laurens Bakker, ‘Resource Claims between Tradition and Modernity: Masyarakat Adat Strategies in Mulai (Kalimantan Timur) in Sather, C. (ed.), Borneo Research Bulletin Vol. 16, 2005: 29-50.

¹⁴ Hooker 1972: 35. (Italicised words in the text are mine).

¹⁵ Shorter 1973: 44.

What is the understanding of the indigenous people on conversion to Christianity or becoming Christians? The term *minasow sa' ugama*¹⁶ in Kadazandusun (Segama), a translation from *masuk agama*, a Malay phrase. It literally means to enter a religion, and indicates a transfer of one's allegiance or the changing of one's religious affiliation. Is converting to Christianity simply a drift into a Christian belief system or becoming the disciple of Christ through intentional acceptance of the message of the Gospel?

There are various definitions and interpretations of conversion. Lonergan distinguishes three types of conversion: intellectual conversion, moral conversion and religious conversion. He defines intellectual conversion as 'a radical illumination to reality, objectivity, and human knowledge.' As for moral conversion, he views it as the changes in one's decisions and value choices. Religious conversion for him is 'being grasped by ultimate concern'. It is an otherworldly falling in love. It is a total and permanent self-surrender without conditions, qualifications, reservations.¹⁷ This indicates that Lonergan understands conversion as both radical and gradual. As for Arbuckle, conversion is a multi-faceted process. He identifies seven types or phases of conversion: intellectual, trust, moral, affective, community/justice, religious and ecclesial conversion. He states that conversion is the outcome of inculturation and it implies, in general, self-transcendence.¹⁸ He stresses that 'conversion is a life-long striving towards self-transcendence in response to the call of the Lord.' 'It is "integral", when the individual struggles for conversion at all levels...'¹⁹ Rambo defines conversion as change. According to him, based on the Judeo-Christian Scriptures, both the Hebrew and Greek words that describe conversion as 'to turn to or return'. Contextually this means turning or returning from and to a new religious groups, way of life, system of beliefs, and modes of relating to a deity or the nature of reality.²⁰ Diane Austin-Broos delineates conversion as a turning from and to but in the form of a passage. According to her, it is neither syncretism nor an absolute breach with the former belief system and to be converted is to re-identify, to learn, to re-order, and to re-orient, involving interrelated modes of continuous transformation and as a quest for

¹⁶ The word 'ugama' or 'agama' is a Malay word for religion. There is no word or term for 'religion' for the indigenous people of Sabah.

¹⁷ Lonergan 1972: 238-241.

¹⁸ Arbuckle 1990: 192-193.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Rambo 1993: 3-4.

belonging.²¹ As for Hefner, conversion is not only an acceptance of beliefs but also an acceptance of identity, both socially and culturally.²² Richard Fletcher declares that the acceptance of Christianity is not simply a matter of ‘confessional change, of dogma, of religious belief and observance in a narrow sense.’ Rather conversion to Christianity involves cultural change in terms of customs, values and habits.²³ In the same way, Shorter asserts that religion is ‘a response to ultimate reality.’²⁴ He identifies four essentials of conversion. First, it is a dynamic religious response of believer to the ultimate reality that involves social facts and common cultural, historical and ecological contexts. Second, the religious experience involves the whole person and is the result of intuition of a member of a community, acquired and expressed through subtle and symbolic means. Third, one’s religious experience may differ from others and the development of a person’s religious sense depends critically on social factors. Fourthly, religion has to be translated into action and realised in everyday life according to the needs and expectations of a community or social context.²⁵ Hiebert asserts that worldview shifts are at the core of conversion. In view of this, he presents five functions of worldviews, namely cognitive foundations, emotional security, validating the deepest cultural norms, integrating one’s culture monitoring and cultural change. According to him, worldviews change due to internal contradictions and cultural inconsistencies. Thus, transformation or conversion happens when one’s worldviews are challenged and no longer meet a person’s or a community’s basic needs.²⁶

Drawing on the above definitions and interpretations of conversion, it is apparent that to convert means to change not only one’s religious affiliation but also one’s belief system. It also involves a process of *becoming*, withdrawing from the former belief system or religious affiliation and religious practice, and accepting a new form of belief system and religious experience. In the course of this change or *becoming*, a person or a

²¹ Diane Austin-Broos, ‘The Anthropology of Conversion: An Introduction’ in Buckser & Glazier 2003: 1-2. See also Simon Coleman, ‘Continuous Conversion? The Rhetoric, Practice, and Rhetorical Practice of Charismatic Protestant Conversion’ in Buckser & Glazier 2003: 15-27, Horetton ‘African Conversion’, Africa 41, no. 2 1971: 85-108, and ‘On the Rationality of Conversion’, Africa 45, no. 4 1975: 219-235 & 372-399.

²² Hefner 1993: 17.

²³ Fletcher 1997: 2.

²⁴ Shorter 1973: 44.

²⁵ Shorter 1973: 44-46.

²⁶ Hiebert 1985: 48-49.

community is, according to Walls, repeatedly coming into creative interaction with new cultures, with different systems of thought and different patterns of tradition; that its profoundest expressions are often local and vernacular.²⁷ Subsequently, religious conversion is a change in the religious life and religious behaviour of a person. To convert to Christianity or to become a Christian, a person is expected to abandon his or her former religious life and religious practices, and to believe in Christ and live in obedience to God's commandment as embodied in the Christian tradition. Thus to be converted means a change of identity or to almost become a 'new tribe'.

During the pioneering stage of the Anglican mission, the indigenous people understood conversion to Christianity as becoming part of the 'mission' or belonging to the mission. In other words, it was becoming part of a new community. For that reason, people who were converted to Christianity were identified as 'people of the mission', meaning they were affiliated with and belonged to the Anglican Church – a new sense of belonging. This was for them a new religious and social identity. They were expected to renounce their former religio-cultural beliefs and practices that were considered contradictory to Christianity. In my conversations with a group of first generation Christians in relation to Christian conversion, they responded:

*Cabaran paling kuat ialah apabila segala kepercayaan tradisi yang telah diterapkan sejak kecil dibuang apabila ingin menjadi orang Kristian yang sejati. Kami membuang segala kepercayaan yang dikatakan karut.*²⁸

This resonates with Lonergan's contention that the effect of preaching the Gospel is imbedded in a preacher's culture. For the indigenous people, accepting the Gospel meant accepting the culture of the preacher and renouncing their culture.²⁹ Moreover, in the early years of Christianization among the indigenous peoples, Christian faith and Western culture were symbiotic in the minds of the missionaries. As a result, Christian faith and Western culture were presented together in the form of art, architecture, music and dance as well as lifestyles, attitudes and popular expressions of religiosity.³⁰ Andrew Buckser interprets this form of conversion as a social act that happens when

²⁷ Walls 2002: 30.

²⁸ The responses were translated into the Malay language from different Kadazandusun languages/dialects: 'The biggest challenge of becoming authentic Christians was to discard all traditional beliefs that have been integrated into our lives since children. We discarded all our traditional beliefs that were considered pagan.' Based on my personal communication on 4 July 2009.

²⁹ Lonergan 1972: 363.

³⁰ Cyprian Illickamury, 'Inculturation and Liturgy' in Nariculam 1992: 73-97.

one not only joins a faith but also enters a communal new relationship that involves ratification and recognition of the change by the wider community.³¹ In the context of the indigenous peoples of Sabah, conversion was conveyed by the missionaries and understood by the indigenous peoples as turning away from paganism or heathenism, that is, living in spiritual darkness to Christian faith through Anglicanism. In the Sunday sermons and teachings, the missionaries stressed and condemned sin and immorality, including the practice of their traditional religion. Reluctance in abandoning their belief system was considered as disobedience to God. Repentance for past beliefs and practices was a prerequisite and considered as the foundation of their new spiritual journey. Failure to repent of their sinful life and to forsake their former religious life was presented as spiritual death or going to hell. As a result, this fear of spiritual death or going to hell replaced people's fear of the malevolent spirits. The indigenous people were obliged to embrace the new belief system according to the teachings of the Bible as presented by the missionaries through the missionaries' limited understanding.

In view of Buckser's interpretations of conversion, it is interesting to see how mass conversion practised by SPG missionaries was more appealing to the indigenous peoples compared to individual conversion as implemented by the CMS missionaries. This was due to the communal nature of individual identity. The weak appeal of personal conversion was probably that they failed to understand the complex process of conversion that involved belief in God, repentance for sin and confession of Christ as the only Saviour (John 3:16, Acts 4:12, Rom 3:21-26).³² Such understanding of change was foreign to the indigenous peoples and challenged their fundamental religio-cultural assumptions. Similarly, conversion stories presented to them, based on the passages in the Gospels and in the Epistles, indicating a decision that requires a definite act of commitment to God through Jesus Christ was both strange to them and unrelated to their religio-cultural beliefs and practices.³³ In response to the question concerning the rationale for individual conversion and thorough teaching, a pioneering CMS missionary in Segama responded:

³¹ Andrew Buckser, 'Social Conversion and Group Definition in Jewish Copenhagen' in Buckser & Glazier 2003: 69-84. See also Robert Hefner, 'World Building and the Rationality of Conversion' in Hefner 1993: 27-28.

³² Rambo made a distinction between the normative and descriptive approaches of conversion. Rambo 1993: 6-7. This is an ongoing argument on soteriology. (Acts 10:48)

³³ Rambo, 'Anthropology and the Study of Conversion' in Buckser & Glazier 2003: 211-222.

There was a great need for the people to be thoroughly taught, not only because they had a spiritual hunger and needed to grow in the faith, but also because we had to anticipate the future. The Muslims would be hostile towards them and the missionaries would have to leave when the Malaysian government took over from the British Government, Therefore we did our best to train leaders who could take over. Also, the Anglican Church would gradually expect them to enter more fully into the Anglican expression of Christianity. Although there appears to be a complaint about the years training for catechumens, terrible mistakes have been made by some missionaries to indigenous people elsewhere, because the people did not understand the teaching. Examples of this were some churches in New Guinea and some Methodist churches in Sarawak where through lack of understanding the churches were syncretistic, containing elements of Christianity but also of their former rituals. The year enabled the people to decide whether it was for them or not and we looked for signs of conversion and growth in understanding. They could drop out if they chose. The Sapi and Tongud areas had much larger populations than we had so it was not surprising that there were already fairly large churches in these areas when we arrived. I think they observed mass conversions.³⁴

According to some first generation Christians in Segama, the commitment and passion of the missionaries in evangelising and discipling them were impressive and attracted them to join the Anglican Church but it was a struggle for them to abandon their traditional religio-cultural beliefs and practice which had been integrated in their lives. Their non-literate background and different worldview made it difficult for them to grasp the teaching and preaching during worship services. Everything seemed to be new and unfamiliar to them.³⁵

The accounts in the Old Testament are in many ways closer to the worldview and religio-cultural beliefs and practices of the indigenous peoples. The idea of conversion for the indigenous peoples could have been clearer if the missionaries connected it with accounts of the people of God in the Old Testament, being called to the one true God. For example, the significance of the sayings ‘God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob’ in the Old Testament would convey to the indigenous peoples that God is faithful to the people who live as a community and worship the same and one God from generation to generation. It also emphasizes that every member of the community is affiliated with one another. Corporately, the indigenous peoples are accountable to their God (*Kinoringan*), indicating to them that God can unite generations. As non-literate people, the indigenous peoples understand the Bible and its theological presuppositions, or understanding of their experience of God by hearing the stories or biblical accounts of the people of God. But it was the urgency of repentance and the need to make a definite act of commitment to the Christian faith by believing in God through Jesus

³⁴ Personal communication on 1 May 2009.

³⁵ Responses from different individuals, members of the Anglican Church since early 1960s.

Christ that conveyed the biblical concept of conversion.³⁶ This could have come later once the people were affiliated with the Christian community. For instance, the CMS missionaries only baptised those individuals who had gone through the baptism class and passed the oral examination or interview. Furthermore, the biblical understanding of the conversion experience presented involves radical personal change. Thus, to convert to Christianity is to turn from and to (cf. I Cor 16:15, Rom 16:5, I Tim 3:16). Christian conversion was presented as a radical call to reject evil and to embrace a relationship with God through faith in Jesus Christ. The missionaries stressed that Christian conversion should be total, complete, and decisive. As understood by the missionaries, for the indigenous peoples to be converted and to belong to the church was not merely to become members of the mission but to surrender themselves completely to God in Jesus Christ by forsaking their traditional belief systems and practices. This was not easy for the indigenous people to do. However, an 86 years old Kadazandusun man who was a traditional healer and converted to Christianity in 1963, later became one of the elders in the Anglican Church for many years responded:

Minasow kaih santiti sa' Karistian sebab paimbanar kaih marung-marung sa' si Tuhan Yesus. Niogol maih sangkat kepercayaan om ganggamur laid nu adu aki mairi. Inawo kuno asanang marong om sumumpu sa' kawarangan om anugerah nu Minamaal sampai sarunat tu.³⁷

Likewise, many of the individuals who became Christians in the late 1950s and early 1960s gave similar responses. In spite of their non-literate background and language barrier, together with their families they decided to become Christians by surrendering their lives to Jesus Christ. In view of this, Daniel Gloor, a biblical lecturer in the Sabah Theological Seminary for many years explained the notion and implications of conversion according to the Old Testament and New Testament:

Dalam Perjanjian Lama, kata yang digunakan untuk menggambarkan 'penukran' adalah shub. Kata Ibrani ini menunjukkan tukaran arah kehidupan. Orang menukar kehidupannya dalam 180°. Dia menukar cara kehidupannya dan menggunakan arah yang baru, arah yang bertentangan dengan cara kehidupan dahulu. Lagipun, dalam antropologi Ibrani, penukaran adalah gerakan yang melibatkan seluruh manusia dan bukan sebahagian manusia sahaja. Manusia menukar cara pemikiran, cakapan, perbuatan, perasaan dan sebagainya. Orang yang menukar cara kehidupannya berjalan dalam jalan Tuhan dan mengarah segala-galanya ke Tuhan. Dalam Perjanjian Baru para penulis menggunakan kata metanoia. Kata ini boleh menyebabkan kekeliruan kerana kata noia merujuk kepada

³⁶ Smith 2001: 15.

³⁷ Personal communication on 4 July 2009. Translation from Kadazandusun Segama: We became Christians as a family because we believed in the Lord Jesus Christ with our whole heart. We abandoned our old beliefs and rituals of our ancestors. My heart is filled with joy and gratitude for God's goodness and grace till to this day.

*nous yang bererti akal, fikiran. Oleh itu, orang yang memahami kata ini dari erti etimologi sahaja berfikir bahawa penukaran dalam Perjanjian Baru hanya merujuk kepada perubahan fikiran. Ini tidak betul kerana fikiran, akal dalam budaya Yunani termasuk juga percakapan dan sebagainya. Hanya pusat berbeza: bagi orang Yunani pusat perubahan berada di dalam akal; bagi orang Ibrani berada di dalam hati. Tetapi tujuan yang sama.*³⁸

Swanston observed:

On one level our lack of Kadazandusun language and knowledge of culture was a considerable hindrance to our work, but we believe that the conversion of people is not merely a cognitive acceptance of the Gospel but is the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit who can break through these deficiencies. We saw this happen, and anthropologists also need to understand that Christian growth and the establishment of churches, is also the work of the Holy Spirit, using the teaching of Scripture.³⁹

Based on my conversations with some first generation indigenous Christians, they are grateful to God for sending many committed missionaries to share the Gospel with them because by following Jesus Christ, they are liberated from fear of the malevolent spirits and the bondage of the *adat*. They are also thankful to God for saving so many lives through the medical care and treatment provided by the missionary nurses in the mission clinics.⁴⁰

Today, we realise that inculturation is crucial in preaching the Gospel to the indigenous peoples if they are 'to enter into' full Christian faith and Christian community in order for Christianity not to be considered a foreign religion, unfamiliar to the spirit, soul and culture of the indigenous peoples. This process of becoming Christian and acts of commitment in following Christ are indicators of their Christian faith. Consequently, with time, they are able to confess the Christian creeds and to practice the Christian traditions and biblical teachings in a way that is meaningful. They are able to worship God and grow in their relationship with God as Christian indigenous peoples.

³⁸ Personal communication on 17 September 2013. Translation from the Malay language: In the Old Testament, the word used to describe 'conversion' is *shub*. This Hebrew word shows a change of direction in life. A person changes his way of life 180 degrees. He/she changes his way of life and lives a new way of life that is contradictory to his/her way of life in the past. Furthermore, in Hebrew anthropology, conversion means a process of change that involves the person totally and not a part of his/her life only. The person changes his way of thinking, talking, behaviour (actions), feelings and so on. She/he walks in God's way and her/his life is totally directed to God. In the New Testament, the writers use the word 'metanoia'. This word can cause confusion due to the word 'noia' that refers to 'nous' which means mind. Due to that for people who understand this word etymologically thinks that conversion in the New Testament refers to transformation of the mind. This is not true because according to Greek culture, 'mind' encompasses the whole being of a person. Thus, although for Greeks 'conversion' means transformation of the mind while for Hebrew transformation of the heart but the goal is similar.

³⁹ Personal communication on 9 December 2009.

⁴⁰ Responses from some individuals who are now in their late 80s and early 90s of age, who became Christians since early 1960s.

3. WORLDVIEW

People read the world differently due to their different assumptions about reality that explicitly influence the way a person or a community views the world. According to Hiebert, the basic assumptions about reality underlie each dimension of culture because existential assumptions provide each culture with the fundamental cognitive structures for its members to expound reality. First, cognitive assumptions form the mental categories for people to think. Second, affective assumptions inspire the notions of beauty, style and aesthetics in a culture. Third, evaluative assumptions offer the criteria for people to make judgements, including the criteria for determining truth and error, likes and dislikes, and right and wrong. It also verifies the priorities of a culture, and therefore influences the desires and allegiances of the people.⁴¹ In view of this, different ways of defining and understanding worldviews have developed. For instance, Burnett, who defines and understands worldview based on a Christian perspective, identifies two contrasting worldviews – the secular and primal. A secular worldview perceives the world from a materialistic, naturalistic perspective and therefore has no place for the supernatural. Whereas a primal worldview acknowledges the world as holistic, not fragmented but whole. For this reason, there is no distinction between the natural and supernatural realms in a primal worldview. According to Burnett, the difference between the two worldviews reflects their assumptions about nature.⁴² Likewise, Van Rheezen, observing from animistic perspectives, claims that there are two presuppositions about worldviews. First, worldviews are so natural to insiders that they assume all others perceive reality their way. Second, worldviews can be critically understood by outsiders more easily than at other times.⁴³ According to Geertz, an anthropologist, worldview provides a model or map of reality by structuring one's perceptions of reality.⁴⁴ Hiebert, looking from the perspectives of missionaries, argues that worldviews do change because they are not fully integrated and as a result of internal contradictions

⁴¹ Hiebert 1985: 45.

⁴² Burnett 1988: 16.

⁴³ Van Rheezen 1991: 33.

⁴⁴ Geertz 1972: 169.

specifically when one's fundamental assumptions are being challenged.⁴⁵ Walsh and Middleton define worldviews from a biblical perspective and assert that they are not systems of thought but rather perceptual frameworks. They stress that, from a Christian perspective, worldviews should be judged based on the Bible.⁴⁶ Likewise, Wolters in his book, *Creation Regained: biblical basics for a new reformational worldview*, defines worldview as the comprehensive framework of one's basic belief about things. He claims that the function of a worldview is to guide life. Consequently, it shapes to a significant degree the way of assessing events, issues, and structures of contemporary civilisation. He proposes that a Christian worldview must be shaped and tested by Scripture.⁴⁷

Examining the various definitions and ideas concerning worldviews, it is clear that a worldview is related to many aspects in life such as culture, language, social systems and religious beliefs, including ways of dealing with life matters. Accordingly, one's worldview affects every aspect of life since it is a set of concepts that relate individuals within a particular culture to the natural world and to other individuals or living beings that comprise their social reality.

3.1 Unified and Dualistic Perspectives

The Kadazandusun perceive the world from animistic or traditional religion perspectives. They believe that the natural world and the supernatural world are interconnected.⁴⁸ According to Hiebert, animistic worldviews are learnt most effectively during times of crisis, during rites of transition, through proverbs, myths, by contrasting the perceptions of the communicator with the receiver, and by analysing how words and sounds are organised and classified. For indigenous peoples, the earth is perceived as a living organism to which they must relate.⁴⁹ In light of this observation, it is clear that the indigenous peoples' cosmology is unified. They live in a natural world, which they define as having distinct aspects controlled by good and evil forces or spirits, for instance, the *divato* and *rogon* respectively. They acknowledge that they co-exist with

⁴⁵ Hiebert 1985: 49.

⁴⁶ Walsh & Middleton 1984: 31-39.

⁴⁷ Wolters 2005: 5-7.

⁴⁸ Williams 2000: 111-132.

⁴⁹ Hiebert 1985: 45.

other beings and spirits. Wooley states that the dictates of religious beliefs and customary law or *adat* have so permeated the soul and mind of the indigenous peoples in Sabah, that their worldview, thought patterns and behaviour are deeply rooted in these two fundamental elements. For this reason, their belief system and *adat* provided the metaphysical sanctions for all their actions.⁵⁰ As described in chapter 3, traditionally the indigenous peoples were convinced that different kinds of powerful spirits exist everywhere in the cosmos, both in the natural as well as in the supernatural realm. They do not distinguish between the two realms because they believe the world is holistic. Acknowledging these spirits by rendering respect and honour through religious rituals is fundamental for them. For instance, offering blood sacrifices, or *sogit*, for the purpose of protecting members of the community and maintaining order, balance and harmony appeased the spirits.

Contrary to the Kadazandusun's worldview, the Western missionaries came from a dualistic worldview, distinguishing the natural and supernatural or the secular and spiritual world.⁵¹ They perceived the world divided into the natural and supernatural realms and therefore did not comprehend why the indigenous peoples were so sensitive to the spirit world.⁵² Hwa Yung, a Malaysian theologian, argues that the dualistic worldview of the Western missionaries was due to the influence of Platonic and Cartesian thought in the Western Christian world,⁵³ which the indigenous peoples were unaware of due to their non-literate background. As a result of the contrasting worldviews, the indigenous peoples (often identified as tribal people or natives in the past), were considered as *heathen*, *pagan* or *lost*, and therefore to be rescued and redeemed from the evil forces or power of darkness. Enlightenment for the missionaries requires civilisation in the forms of modern education and scientific medicine. As commented earlier introduction and implementation of modern education and scientific medicine in the form of mission clinics were instrumental in evangelising the indigenous peoples. Moreover, medicine and education were a blessing and liberation introduced by the Western missionaries with the disadvantaged, indigenous peoples in

⁵⁰ Wooley 1937: 1-44.

⁵¹ Samovar, Porter & McDaniel 2009: 49.

⁵² Van Rheezen 1991: 33.

⁵³ Hwa Yung 1989: 77-79.

Sabah.⁵⁴ However, Shorter argues that the evangelisation of individuals needs to be done within their cultures by implementing inculturation. This approach avoids assuming that an indigenous people do not have a culture and prevents aggressive victimization by an alien culture.⁵⁵ Initially, the early converts abandoned their traditional beliefs or religious ideas because they were convinced that they were of the devil. As a result, the indigenous peoples, particularly students in mission schools, not only accepted Christianity as their new allegiance but also adopted a Western worldview.⁵⁶ This was inevitable as the Western worldview was built and derived from the manner in which Christian belief was presented. The worldview that sees life ruled by malevolent spirits who must be appeased cannot be held within a Christian framework. The Christian worldview however, must also be consonant with the indigenous culture.

Considering the contrasting worldviews of the missionaries and Kadazandusun, it is clear that both groups took their cultural presuppositions for granted. The missionaries were most influenced by the Christian perspective of Western theology. This was, in part, the result of the rise of the spirit of rationalism in Europe in the seventeenth century. The Kadazandusun, coming from an animistic background perceived that all of life is controlled by spiritual powers and that human beings seek to manipulate these powers.⁵⁷ Reflecting on these two different perspectives, it is also apparent that both the missionaries and the Kadazandusun believed in the existence of God as the creator and sustainer of creation. In the Bible, it is clear that God is sovereign over the world and people do not need to be afraid because everything is in under the control, power and sovereignty of the One God.

3.2 The Interconnectedness of Life

The indigenous peoples perceived life as interconnected with families⁵⁸, the spiritual world and nature. They believed that the natural realm was interrelated with the

⁵⁴ Many indigenous peoples in Sabah appreciate the introduction and implementation of medicine and education in Sabah by the missionaries. Personal communication in August – September 2009.

⁵⁵ Shorter 1994: 28.

⁵⁶ Evangelism happened within families initiated by students in the mission schools.

⁵⁷ Van Rheenen 1991: 95-99.

⁵⁸ During the funeral of a son's parents, he cannot participate in the funeral rites if his wife is pregnant because this can cause misfortune to the wife during her delivery or can bring harm or curse to the child

human realm. There is no definite distinction between sacred and profane, or between religious and non-religious: between the spiritual and the material world. According to this worldview, the worlds of human beings, other living beings and spirits co-exist. They are interrelated with one another: each element affects the other and the whole cultural structure. The indigenous peoples consider everything that exists in the natural and the supernatural world are living beings, meaning they have life, and ought to be acknowledged and not to be hurt. Furthermore, they acknowledge the presence of God, the creator, sustainer and protector who is the Supreme Being governs them and all the things surrounding them, above them or under them. They are aware of the manifestations of God through natural phenomena and material objects. They are convinced that both of these elements reveal something supernatural that is of divine powers. In this sense, they are consistently engaged with God and the spirits everywhere. This experience is not restricted to any particular place. Thus, the Kadazandusun do not have a shrine or a specific place to worship and give offerings to their Creator. In spite of the fact that they worship their God where significant events happened, and with objects, it does not mean that they worship such places and objects. Rather it is a way of acknowledging God's presence in those places and objects. In addition, they also acknowledge the existence of the spirits that dwell in their midst, both the benevolent and malevolent spirits as described in chapter 3. They believe that the power of the spirits manifests itself constantly to human beings, intervening in human enterprises and affairs. Thus, they take precaution not to go into the territory of the spirits that can anger the spirits. Otherwise, the community will suffer misfortune such as death, famine, drought or infertility. Disorder, disharmony and imbalance in the community will occur unless appeasement of the spirits is carried out by sacrificing animals or by performing specific religious rituals.

The Christian missionaries presented a biblical worldview that declared God as the Supreme Being and the Creator of all things in heaven and on earth, seen and unseen (cf. Gen 1:1) ... maker of heaven and earth, as stated in the Apostles' Creed. This corresponds to the worldview of the indigenous peoples, who practise traditional religion. Furthermore, in their teaching, missionaries stressed that God created men and women in God's image and that they were to be responsible stewards of God's creation

that yet to be born. It is also a common practice for the indigenous people to pour water on the floor and to throw the mat, where they place the coffin, away in the river or to bury it. It is a symbol that the spirit of the dead is now with the other spirits in the spiritual realm and will not return to harm the family.

(cf. Gen 1:27-30). This teaching is in line with the indigenous peoples' idea of the creation of humankind by God and that people are obliged to care for the environment and to be in harmony with nature. The missionaries stressed that God is good and just to everyone, but that people are by nature sinful. They taught that all have to return to God and be forgiven and redeemed through His Son, Jesus Christ. In addition to being forgiven and redeemed, they taught that everyone who accepts Jesus as Lord and Saviour receives a new life and lives by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth. This is the teaching the CMS missionaries emphasised. For the indigenous peoples, this individualistic perspective was hard to grasp.

Reflecting on these two worldviews about God and faith in God, we see that both the missionaries and indigenous peoples recognise God as the Supreme Being. However, they differ, in the aspects of forgiveness of sins and redemption of humankind from sinfulness that causes spiritual death. Most probably, the reason that the indigenous people do not perceive God as the forgiver of sins is that they were not aware of their sinful nature and the sins that they have committed – they were not aware that they have lost the favour and glory of God. The concept of original sin was foreign to them. For the indigenous peoples, it is more important to please God and the spirits by living in harmony with one another and with nature. It is more important to avoid the anger of the spirits, which sometimes gives the impression that their relationship is really with the spirits rather than the Creator God. As a result of their ignorance about God's forgiveness and redeeming love, the indigenous peoples were more concerned about the things that cause anger to the spirits. The things that cause them 'shame' rather than feeling guilty for not believing and accepting Jesus Christ as their Lord and Saviour.

The concept of eternal death as a consequence of denying or rejecting Jesus Christ was unimaginable and incomprehensible to the indigenous peoples. For them, life continues even when a person has passed away. He or she is just being transferred to another place 'above the sky,' or *kinarawangan* which means 'in a better place'.⁵⁹ However, the concept of eternal life as taught by Western missionaries was similar to the worldview of the indigenous peoples concerning life except they perceive life after death more as a continuation rather than a new beginning.

⁵⁹ This may be 'paradise'. They believed it as the perfect destination, a place where everyone and everything become perfect.

The Western religious ideas were both new and foreign to the indigenous people. Their understanding of religion, or rather of spiritual things, was inseparable from their culture. Thus, the beliefs and behaviour of an individual were accountable to the community as well as nature. Performing religious rituals or religious ceremonies was their way, as a community, of worshipping the Supreme Being, *Kinoringan* and the spirits. Worship is the act of the community rather than an individual. Worship is central in the life of indigenous people communities because in whatever they do, the spirits are omnipresent.

3.3 Spiritual Power - Sovereignty of God

The indigenous peoples are convinced that there is a creator force or power, *asundu*⁶⁰ controlling them and the events and matters of their everyday life.⁶¹ For this reason, they often seek different kinds of power to control their individual and communal life. Their world includes the life around them, nature, life above them such as the clouds, sky, moon, stars and sun and life under them – ‘under the earth,’ the deepest river, seas or oceans. They are convinced that different spirits exist and dwell in all these natural and supernatural realms. They are only able to relate to these spiritual beings through spiritual power. Power is comprehended as a supernatural force that competes with the evil spirits and with their enemies. It is more for the person’s own self-gain because they believe that the power determines the success or failure of every aspect of an individual’s life and this, in turn, affects the community. For this reason, every member of a community is expected to live an ethical and respectful life based on the *adat* and not to bring disgrace or ‘shame’ to the community and society. Disobedience to the *adat* is unlawful and ‘disgraceful’ or ‘shameful’. Thus, every individual is significant and has a role to play in maintaining the order and balance in the community so required for harmony. Good relationships within a family, with an extended family and neighbours are crucial. The social structure of the indigenous people’s community is perceived as hierarchical due to different roles of members in a family, community and society, which in fact is meant for sustaining relationships and

⁶⁰ Rose 2000: 114.

⁶¹ Burnett 1988: 93.

harmony according to the *adat*. The indigenous peoples practice egalitarianism, with men and women having equal social status in the family, community and society.

The Christian missionaries viewed power differently. For them, the source of power is God, which is not to be used for personal benefit but rather to liberate people from darkness and the evil one. (Cf. Col. 1:19, 2:9). They also taught that God's power is quantitatively and qualitatively greater than the power of Satan and all the other spirits (cf. Col. 1: 16-17). Thus, to be God's people, the indigenous peoples had to accept Jesus Christ as their personal Lord and Saviour in order to be liberated from the power of all the malevolent spirits. In this sense, they could experience God's presence and therefore live in harmony with both God and other members of the community. This harmony is not based on humans manipulating the divine. Rather as Christians, they placed their lives in the hands of the sovereign God, who protects and sustains them and the world.

3.4 Divination - God's Power

Divination is an important element in the religious life of the indigenous peoples. It is a means to control and influence lives. The indigenous peoples believe that diviners are the 'chosen ones' who have been anointed with a special power or force from above to determine what powers or forces are influencing the lives of the community both individually and corporately. For instance, if a person has been ill for sometime, the family will consult a diviner. He or she will determine what caused the illness and determine what kind of power or force can heal the person. Diviners are to seek the will of the 'one above' for the lives of the particular community they represent.

The Christian missionaries strongly opposed the practice of divination because they believed that it was against the very nature of God and God's sovereignty. God is love and is omniscient. They stressed that God demonstrated his desire to relate to his creation by sending deliverers such as the prophets and his Son Jesus Christ to proclaim his message of love. The practice of divination was therefore viewed as an abomination since it was an attempt to manipulate the spiritual forces of the world created by God rather than by having a relationship with the sovereign and yet loving God. Moreover, God is sovereign in the world that God has created and God's creation should give God glory, honour and praise. To practise divination was declared as worshipping the power

or forces of the evil spirits rather than the Spirit of the living God. It is to go against God's will and plan for one's life and well-being.

3.5 Fear of the Spirits - Freedom in Christ

The indigenous peoples lived in constant fear because they believed that evil spirits were everywhere. They therefore anxiously looked for sources of evil that might cause harm, sickness and calamities to their community. Due to this constant fear, they lost their independence and had to perform different cultural and religious rituals so that the spirits could be appeased. For example, if a married woman was unable to conceive a child for a long time, the infertility was considered to be a curse or a punishment on her and her husband, their families and generation and to their community. Consequently, they would consult a diviner. When a woman finally conceives a child, the child will address her and her husband by their first names instead of mother and father in order to avoid the evil one being jealous and ultimately harming the child.⁶² Another couple that is related biologically to the wife or husband will symbolically adopt the child and the child will address them as father and mother.

The main theme the missionaries preached was the death and the resurrection of Christ.⁶³ They stressed that fear was the work of Satan but that Christ on the cross has conquered the power of Satan. The Christian message they presented provided an ideology in which 'perfect love drives out fear' (1John 4:18) emphasising that Christ has triumphed over the principalities and powers which undergird animistic systems and put them to shame (Col. 2:15). The indigenous people were encouraged to become Christians so that they could be set free from the fear of the spirits.⁶⁴ By following Christ, they could be rescued and protected and therefore could live freely. The freedom from fear of the spirits was one of the significant factors that caused many indigenous people to become Christians. Upon their conversion to Christianity, they burnt and discarded all the things that were associated with their traditional beliefs, such as musical instruments used for worship, and beads and ointment related to healing and

⁶² This practice also applies to children who are frequently sick.

⁶³ Good Friday service was a solemn occasion and normally lasted for three hours of reflections on the death of Jesus. This practice has been revived in recent years in the Anglican Church of Sabah.

⁶⁴ In Sunday school classes or in the mission clinics, pictures of the devil with a fierce face with two horns were often shown.

protection. Those who had the gift of healing the sick had to renounce the prayers or mantra called *reknit* that they had memorised for years since these *rinait* were perceived as associated with the power of the devil. As a result, many people who had the gift of healing declined to become Christians because they claimed that they inherited the power for healing from their ancestors, or that they were anointed and called to perform healing and exorcism.

4. TRUTH CLAIMS: BIBLICAL META-NARRATIVES

From a Christian's perspective, the meta-narrative⁶⁵ for human beings is in God's story, and to find purpose and meaning in life one needs to find a place within the biblical meta-narrative. In this section, I will briefly study the biblical meta-narrative and its encounter with the indigenous peoples' religio-cultural beliefs.

4.1 The Bible as the Word of God

For Thomas Cranmer, the author and compiler of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England in 1549, the Bible is to be read with reverence and fear; by everyone, the learned and unlearned. Scripture provides the resources and tools for the Christian life. With the Reformation, the Bible had become the supreme source of authority in every aspect of daily living, especially in the spiritual realm.⁶⁶ Accordingly, the pioneering missionaries introduced the Bible as the Word of God to be revered, read and obeyed. Thus, the preaching and teaching during Sunday services, church visitations and catechism classes were based on the Bible as the Word of God. They conveyed the stories in the Bible as a meta-narrative of salvation that shaped the indigenous peoples' understanding of the Christian faith. They presented the Bible as the display of a single over-arching narrative in the story that started with creation (Genesis) and ended with the new creation (Revelation). It reached its climax in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus.

Coming from an oral tradition, the idea of the Bible as the Word of God was strange to the indigenous peoples because there was no sacred book or written creeds to

⁶⁵ A metanarrative is the overall story that sets in place a framework by which other stories are understood and interpreted.

⁶⁶ Cartledge 2008: 19-34.

be recited in their religious experience.⁶⁷ As a non-literate people, their guiding principles in life were a collective body of knowledge based on the environment and experience of living in their land that had been accumulated and passed on for many generations. Moreover, the universe was considered sacred and central to life. As a result of the emphasis on the Bible as the Word of God in the preaching and teaching of the Christian missionaries, the indigenous peoples were obliged to accept it as a holy or sacred book, *Alkitab* in the Malay language. They developed a reverence for the Bible as a sacred book for Christians and placed it in a special place beyond the reach of children. Some considered the Bible as divine or magical and therefore laid their Bibles near their pillows when they slept or placed them on the chest of a member of their families who fell ill. The Bible was valued as *asundu* or powerful and therefore regarded as a form of ‘charm of protection’.

Christians have an authoritative and sacred text, which is inspired by the Holy Spirit. According to the creation story in the Book of Genesis in the Old Testament, in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth (Gen 1:1) out of nothing, *creatio ex nihilo*, over six days and then rested on the seventh day. It is also recorded in the Bible that God created man and woman in God’s image, as the climax of God’s creation. God blessed them and commanded them to multiply – ‘fill the earth and subdue it. (Gen 1:26) Besides, God appointed them to be stewards of God’s creation. At the end of God’s creation, it was declared that everything God created was very good (Gen. 1:31). In this creation story presented by the Christian missionaries to the indigenous peoples, God is seen as the creator of all things – creation was perfect: man and woman were given the responsibility to be in charge of God’s creation (Gen. 1:26).

Likewise, the indigenous peoples recognized *Kinoringan* as the creator, but they also acknowledged his wife, *Suminundu* as the co-creator. In fact, they perceive all realities from a creation perspective. Based on their religious tradition, both *Kinoringan* and *Suminundu* created the earth and the human race. They also believed that everything both visible and invisible were part of the creation and therefore to be acknowledged as well as everything in the world. When a famine happened, the gods

⁶⁷ Literacy in British Borneo in 1955 was 18% based on the report Education in North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei, New Haven: Human Relations Area Files 1956: 247-253.

sacrificed their only daughter, *Huminodun*⁶⁸ by planting every part of her body in the earth in order to provide food in the form of rice for his people.⁶⁹ Like the creation story in Genesis, it is not stated how *Kinoringan* and his wife came into being, but unlike the creation story, it is not mentioned how *Kinoringan* and *Suminundu* created the world, and whether they created man earlier or man and woman together.⁷⁰ The creation story varies from area to area and today is often confused with elements of Christian or Islamic belief.⁷¹ The creation story informed the indigenous peoples about the value of life. Moreover, through the creation story, they acknowledged *Kinoringan* as their protector and sustainer, to whom they make their most sacred oaths.

The indigenous peoples are family-oriented and the basic social unit is the nuclear-family household. Most probably, it could be the reason why they portrayed *Kinoringan* as a family man with a wife and a child.⁷² Besides, *Kinoringan* is acknowledged as the head of the family and the ruler of the whole universe. *Kinoringan* watched over the universe and the well-being of everyone, making sure that every living being had sufficient food in the form of rice and lived harmoniously with one another, with nature and the spirits. For this reason, rice is not only considered as their staple food but it also has religious significance and implications as discussed in chapter 3.

4.2 The Fall and Concept of Sin

One of the main themes of the preaching and teaching during the beginning of the mission to the indigenous peoples was the doctrine of original sin as narrated in the

⁶⁸ There is another version of the story about *Huminodun*. According to this legend, during a famine a long, long time ago, *Kinoringan* sacrificed his only and very beautiful daughter to be an offering to the great earth so that there will be seeds once again for planting and there will be food for the people. To commemorate *Huminodun*'s willingness to sacrifice herself, *there is Unduk Ngadau* (Beauty Pageant) during the Kadazandusun harvest festival every year as a sense of respect of the Kadazandusun for the legendary *Huminodun*.

⁶⁹ In the indigenous people's mythology, all vegetation, especially rice is sacred since it contains the spirit of the cosmic child, *Huminodun* and is known as *Bambarayon*.

⁷⁰ According to traditional belief, these two supreme beings begot children, the ancestors of various Kadazan tribes in Sabah. See Luping (1994): 3. Hence the distinction between the divine and humankind is blurred.

⁷¹ The story of creation in Kadazandusun folklore is that of the Red Banyan Tree, *Nunuk Ragang*. According to this story, the Kadazandusun and humanity in general emerged from beneath a large, red banyan tree in the centre of the state of Sabah.

⁷² Traditionally, gender is not an issue in the indigenous people's community. Most probably, the preference for a son is an influence from the Chinese community who first came to Borneo in the fourth century.

Book of Genesis chapter 3.⁷³ The indigenous peoples were informed about the cause and consequence of the fall – the whole of humankind without exception was sinful because of the disobedience to God of the first man and woman. As a result, the human race is guilty of sin and needs to be rescued or redeemed. Guilt-conscience is instilled in the hearts of men and women who recognise their sinful nature through this biblical account.

For the Kadazandusun, the concept of sin is often associated with shame rather than a guilt and shame-oriented conscience. This indicates that their lack of sorrow for sin is due to their perception of *salah adat* or, wrong-doing based on not fulfilling the *adat*. It is perceived as misbehaviour and apparently *salah adat* is socially controlled. It is associated with moral behaviour of an individual in a family within a community. The basis of morality is the fulfilment of obligations to one another in the family, community and society. According to the tradition of the indigenous peoples, their religious beliefs and practices are interrelated with morality and are socially defined. Sin is understood as offences committed against individuals or groups within the culture rather than transgressions against God or the spirits. For instance, if a member of a family or a community has misbehaved by disobeying the moral rules, *salah adat*, meaning, the person has transgressed the law and caused moral disorder.⁷⁴ The traditional beliefs and practices of the indigenous peoples revolve around the community, meaning it is community-oriented and they value communal living. To maintain the moral order of the community, the family of the transgressor has to consult the headman and priest or priestess, depending on what kind of moral rule or behaviour had been violated. Because non-adherence to *adat* would bring shame, disease, sickness and natural disaster. This shows that individuals within the wider community were viewed as affecting the world of the supernatural land [cf. Achan at Jericho.] If these actions transgressed *adat*, disturbances in the order of the cosmos would take place. It is the responsibility of the headman and other elders, and the priest or priestess to discern and to determine the nature of the violation, whether it concerns moral conduct or

⁷³ The doctrine of original sin is neither part of Judaism nor Islam. It was introduced only in the 4th century by Augustine and picked up on by the Protestant reformers.

⁷⁴ The indigenous society revolved around *adat*. *Adat* was deemed to be truth. Anyone transgressing the *adat* was severely punished to avoid divine punishment in the form of pestilence, plague, floods and crops failure. Thus, to be of the right behaviour, every member of the community must conform to *adat*.

religious issues.⁷⁵ The procedure and process of dealing with certain misconduct or violation of moral rule in a family, or in a community, indicates that the indigenous peoples emphasise the importance of the honour and self-respect of each individual in a family or community. However, it also shows that any misconduct or violation of the laws is not perceived as wrong-doing or transgression once it has been revealed to the community and dealt with by the authority. It is in the gathered community that confession of transgression and assurance of forgiveness and reconciliation have to take place. Apart from confession of transgression, payment is essential in order to reconcile the people involved and their families. It is also to restore the honour of the person and his or her family. The details of the payment are usually to be negotiated between the parties involved with the headman and elders acting as mediators and judges. It can be in the form of animals, objects, or money. Likewise, sacrifice as prescribed by the spiritual ritualist is performed to reconcile the community with God and the spirits.

Thus, the concept of sin for the indigenous peoples is different from the biblical teaching on sin and redemption as presented by the missionaries.⁷⁶ In view of this, it must have been difficult for the indigenous peoples to understand the concept of sin depicted in the account of the fall. The disobedience of the first man and woman that ultimately caused the human race to sin was not in their theological perception of sin as demonstrated in the Bible.⁷⁷

4.3 Justification, Redemption and Atonement⁷⁸

Most of the missionary teachers and nurses serving in the Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama areas were from the Church Missionary Society (CMS), Australia. Due to their evangelical background, their preaching and teaching revolved around the doctrines of justification, redemption and atonement. They emphasised that justification for sin is the grace of God and redemption is the event that makes justification possible. God provides the redemption of sin through the death of Christ on the cross as a sacrifice of atonement.

⁷⁵ There are 58 offences grouped into the classes of: 1) offences against the person, 2) sex and marriage offences, 3) property offences, 4) fraud, 5) social offences, and 6) religious offences. See William 1969: 12.

⁷⁶ Samovar, Porter & McDaniel 2009: 53

⁷⁷ Van Rheenen 1991: 275-284.

⁷⁸ Atonement – the death of Jesus Christ on the cross, which effects salvation as the reestablishment of relationship between God and sinners. See McKim 1996: 20.

The missionaries preached and taught the new converts that Christ died on the cross for their sins so that they could be saved from the power of darkness and the wrath of God or the penalty of sins (cf. John 3:16, Rom 1:18-21, Rom 4:25, Rom 5:6, 8, Rom 8:32, 1Cor 8:11, 1Cor 15:3, 2Cor 5:14, Gal 1:14, Gal 2:20 and 1Thes 5:10). They stressed the significance of the death of Christ on the cross in their teaching and preaching. They become Christians by accepting Jesus Christ as their *Tuhan* (Lord) and *Juruselamat* (Saviour).

The concept of salvation and life in Christ - eternal life and new creation was a totally new revelation for the indigenous peoples. The spirituality of the indigenous people is not centred on any historical person. However, in spite of the language barriers and contrasting religious worldviews, many indigenous peoples became Christians. This was due to fear of the malevolent spirits and implicitly to avoid the consequences of the *adat* and various rituals. Nevertheless, although many of the Christian converts found in the gospel the way of salvation, they often had few answers to their immediate questions about their daily affairs such as sickness, traditional healing, fear of the spirits, poverty, suffering and so on. So they returned to their traditional ways to get immediate answers to these questions. Frequently they lived in a dilemma and guilt even as they went to church for forgiveness and fellowship with God. When the missionaries and church leaders condemned them for doing so, they simply continued in secret.⁷⁹

5. CIVILISATION AND MODERNIZATION

Modern Western missions coincided with the expansion of Western colonialism. In fact, the Christian missions were powerful bearers of the process of modernisation. However, the attitude of mission was of *tabula rasa*, and the role of missionaries was viewed as bringing Christianity and civilisation to local cultures that were considered primitive or uncivilised.⁸⁰ Two symbolic systems found an affinity: the preaching of the Gospel and the civilising of the heathen since evangelism and civilisation were inseparable. The interests of both missions and colonisers converged on the 'civilising' point. For this

⁷⁹ Latourette 1975: 258.

⁸⁰ Turner 1976: 38

reason, mission societies felt obliged to pursue a dual mandate, evangelising and civilising. At that time, the West was making major advances in medicine, technology, education, industry, and agricultural production. The worldview undergirding these Western programmes was usually in conflict with major facets of the indigenous worldview. In implementing the ‘dual mandate’ to local churches, new Christians had to abandon their cultures and their worldviews. It was clear that becoming a Christian was synonymous with becoming Western.⁸¹ As in many parts of the world, the missionaries used the mission schools and medical clinics as their primary grounds for evangelising and civilising the indigenous peoples.

5.1 Education and the Gospel: The Interface between Education and Christianity

Prior to the colonial period (1888-1941), a traditional education system for the indigenous peoples had been present for many centuries in North Borneo (Sabah).⁸² Although there is hardly any record of education before the arrival of the Europeans, there were already people literate in the Malay language. There were Quranic schools or *Madrasah* scattered along the coasts in the more populated areas where the community was predominantly Muslim. The Qu’ran was memorized orally and the students did not necessarily learn to write Arabic.

The traditional pattern of education in Southeast Asia, including North Borneo (Sabah) was government education, mission education and Chinese education. The British North Borneo was granted its charter in 1881 and two Christian organisations, the Roman Catholics⁸³, and the Church of England (SPG)⁸⁴ began their missionary work, which included education. By the beginning of the twentieth century there were seven mission schools operated by these two Christian denominations.⁸⁵ However, mission education was not only provided by these two Christian denominations but also by different Christian mission organisations, such as the Seventh Day Adventists, the Borneo Evangelical Mission (Australia), the Borneo Self-Established Church (Lutheran)

⁸¹ Philips & Coote 1993: 237.

⁸² Kitingan & Ongkili 1989: 289.

⁸³ In 1887, a Roman Catholic group arrived and Fr. Byron built and opened a small school.

⁸⁴ In 1888 Elton built St. Michael’s church and started St. Michael’s school.

⁸⁵ Kitingan & Ongkili 1989: 289.

and the Basel Mission.⁸⁶ The mission schools exercised a strong Westernising influence in general through emphasis on Western mores, institutions, and ideas.⁸⁷ Before 1909, education in North Borneo was principally in the hands of these different mission organisations. There were only a small number of Chinese and Muslim schools because both the Chartered Company and the colonial administration did not encourage education of the native people through government-funded schools where English was the medium of instruction.

In general, from the beginning of the mission in North Borneo, missionaries opened schools because they thought this to be an effective means for spreading the gospel.⁸⁸ Mission education was an integral aspect of church ministry and the mission schools became the crucial environment for socialisation in the Christian faith. The major method of evangelism became the school and in some places, where the mission schools were far from their homes, children were required to stay in the mission grounds as boarders. In this way, they were nurtured in their Christian faith and away from their traditional culture and religious beliefs and practices. The missionaries presented the Christian faith in the form of Western culture, thought forms, and worldview.

After World War II (1942-1945), the British Chartered Company because of the devastation of the war surrendered North Borneo to the British, making North Borneo a British colony.⁸⁹ As a result, Christianity in North Borneo was associated with colonialism. The mission organisations appealed to the colonial government for financial assistance to reconstruct the schools. This ended when the Christian organisations carried the sole responsibility for education in North Borneo.⁹⁰ According to Ongkili, a Malaysian historian and politician, the British education system during the British colonial period (1946-1962) was intended to fulfil the two main objectives of

⁸⁶ Tregonning 1960: 125-127.

⁸⁷ Based on the report *Education in North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak*, New Haven: Human Relations Area Files 1956: 248.

⁸⁸ See Appendix iii.

⁸⁹ Sinclair, 'A Survey of the Year 1948', *The International Review of Missions* 39 1950: 22.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

British colonial rule: to establish and maintain order in the region to facilitate trade, and to exploit the natural resources for maximum profit.⁹¹

Looking at the development of mission education, it is undeniable that it was a most effective means for propagating the Gospel. Education was essentially for Christianisation as well as for the development of Sabah. The Anglican mission, particularly through the schools, not only gained converts but also served as a means for development and modernisation.⁹²

5.2 Medical Care and the Gospel: The Interface of Traditional Healing and Christianity

In chapter 3, the types and causes of sicknesses, as well as the significant role of the ritual healers and specialists in performing the various ritual-communal ceremonies, were discussed.⁹³ When Christianity first came to Sabah, the missionaries condemned all elements of indigenous beliefs and practices, including healing, as being Satanic, demonic or primitive and irrational. The practices of the ritual specialists and herbalists were considered pagan and contradictory to the Christian teaching. New Christian converts were expected to renounce all their traditional beliefs and practices in healing, and to adopt scientific medical care. They were forbidden to go the traditional healers and ritual specialists. Mission clinics were built and missionary nurses were recruited from England or Australia. Christians and non-Christians were introduced to Western medicine. The mission clinics were also used as a place for evangelism.

Christianity is related to healing of the body, mind and spirit. God was recognised and declared by the missionary nurses as the source of healing. They stressed the healing accounts in the Old Testament that testified and revealed God's mercy where people were healed from various kinds of sickness. God and God's chosen people, such as the Prophets, healed many people. Besides, they narrated the various occasions when Jesus and the disciples performed healing and set people free from many different kinds

⁹¹ Ongkili 1986: 105.

⁹² George, 'The Contributions of Mission Schools to the Development of the Church and State of Sabah', Silver Jubilee of the Diocese of Sabah 1987: 26.

⁹³ Hurlbut, 'Traditional Beliefs of the Eastern (Labuk) Kadazan People', Sabah Museum and Archives Journal vol. 1 no. 1, 1988: 145-153.

of sickness. They emphasised that healing was crucial in liberating people from any form of illness, including the casting out of demons – liberating people from miserable sickness and spiritual oppression. The impact of the mission clinics, which involved healing and evangelism, was tremendous and it subsequently transformed the perceptions of the indigenous peoples about sickness and healing.

6. ASSESSMENT OF THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE INDIGENOUS RELIGIO-CULTURAL BELIEFS AND CHRISTIANITY

The impact of Christianity upon the indigenous peoples' religious life and practice was not radically disruptive yet it caused a lot of psychological turmoil. Analysing the differing worldviews and religio-cultural beliefs of the early missionaries and indigenous peoples, there are some converging points, which could have enlightened the indigenous peoples' understanding of the Christian message and informed their spirituality. For instance, by affirming the sovereignty of God whom they knew as *Kinoringan*, the Christian missionaries could have presented God as He who created, sustained and protected them through generations. By acknowledging the presence of the spirits, they could have presented the Spirit of God as stated in the Bible as the Spirit, who created, empowered, liberated and led God's people. The missionaries could have presented the gospel in the framework of religion by observing, analysing and assessing the indigenous peoples' religious ideas or beliefs and practices, eventually discovering the converging and diverging religious features that could have created dialogues and discussions. Unfortunately, the missionaries ignored many of the religious beliefs in the form of narratives, which give fuller meaning and coherence to the life of the indigenous peoples. The stories or narratives⁹⁴ of the indigenous peoples could have assisted the missionaries in understanding the indigenous peoples' pre-history. Narratives that includes various stories of creation, of its originating events, and key events in human life. Sadly, they did not make much effort to know and to study the stories or narratives of the indigenous people. As a result, the indigenous peoples felt that the God proclaimed and taught by the missionaries was another form of God or a new God. Many of the indigenous peoples were reluctant to accept Christianity because they found it very difficult to relate to the Christian God. They were made to decide and to choose rather than being led to know and to worship God, the creator, protector and

⁹⁴ The indigenous people have many traditional stories called *Tangon*. It is a common practice for a mother to tell a story in the form of singing (lullaby) while putting a child to sleep or for grandparents, uncles or aunties to tell stories to children whenever there is a family gathering or in the evening.

sustainer. Thus, to believe in the new God as presented by the missionaries, they had to renounce *Kinorinagan* or *Minamaal*, the God whom their ancestors had acknowledged and revered. They had to break away from their culture and traditional religion, which were considered *pagan*. For that reason, to become Christians they were to adopt a new Eurocentric culture as represented by the missionaries. The indigenous peoples perceived converting to Christianity as breaking away from their inherited religio-cultural beliefs and practices. In a way, it was similar to the problem faced by the Gentiles in Galatia when the Judaizers expected the new converts to become Jews.

There are three models of conversion, which are normally implemented by missionaries: first, a conversionist model, second, a mixed model of mutual interpenetration, with incomplete transformation referred to as syncretism. Thirdly, inculturation or contextualization, which embeds the new tradition in the socio-cultural ethos of the traditional society, with elements of cultural engagement and counter-cultural challenge. Retrospectively, it is obvious that during the pioneering stage, both the SPG and CMS missionaries implemented the conversionist model. It was a radical conversion that privileged Christianity as 'true' and the animist position as 'false'. There were no dialectical dialogue between the missionaries and indigenous people. Due to the indigenous people's oral tradition, and their language deficiency, the missionaries could not study the culture and traditions of the indigenous people, which were interrelated with their religious beliefs and practices. As a consequence of this model, the indigenous people who were converted to the Christian faith discarded their old religious beliefs and practices. They were committed in their Christian faith by adopting the Christian beliefs and practices.

It is then important to know that when the Gospel enters a particular culture, the culture needs to be examined thoroughly. It is not only to affirm what is good and true. But elevating that goodness and truth to an even more elevated level: to challenge and correct what is evil and sinful in order to purify the culture. The Gospel is relevant to every culture, both 'primitive' and 'civilised'. It is also relevant to every human situation and can transcend every culture. According to Schreiter:

The key to mediating the issue of inculturation of faith and identification with culture is how 'faith' is understood that which is to be inculturated – and 'culture' – the context or situation in which inculturation takes place. How faith is understood affects what we see as

needing to be inculturated, what cannot be substantively changed, and what are the limits of change that can be permitted.⁹⁵

He mentions three kinds of situations that help to identify strongly with the culture – cultural reconstruction, cultural resistance and cultural solidarity. He also stresses that inculturation can only be achieved if a culture is given its own integrity and dignity, and the people are involved.⁹⁶

It is also true that all Christians must be engaged in an on-going process of relating the Gospel to different cultures that are constantly changing. Christians from different contexts and cultures can enrich each other's faith or help one another to correct our mistakes since Christianity is not permanently bound to any one human culture. The acceptance of difference among cultures means that the Christian faith is relevant to all cultures. Theology is the result of interaction of Christians with Scripture and with their culture.⁹⁷

For many years, the indigenous people understood the Eurocentric Christianity according to the ways the pioneering missionaries preached and taught the gospel. Today mission can no longer be understood as the expansion of Western Christianity.⁹⁸ The Western Christ once presented needs to be communicated as the incarnate Christ in order for the Christian message to become more culturally relevant. Hwa Yung asserts three guiding principles on the contextualizing the Gospel.⁹⁹ First, the indigenising principle. He argues that contextualization is rooted in incarnation. Hwa Yung agrees with Andrew Walls that there is a need to 'indigenise', to live as an indigenous Christian, which is closely related to the nature of the Gospel. Second, the 'pilgrim' principle, held in tension with the first principle and yet both are interrelated since both principles are based on the essence of the Gospel. Third, the importance of clarifying the underlying epistemological foundation of contextualization in order not to repeat the mistakes made by missionaries during the colonial period.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Schreiter 1994: 17.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 20.

⁹⁷ Philips & Coote 1993: 247-249.

⁹⁸ Hollewenger 1989: 8.

⁹⁹ Hwa Yung 1997: 62-65.

¹⁰⁰ Hiebert 1987: 105.

Schreiter understands inculturation of the Gospel as a form of conversion or change. He asserts that ‘the Gospel is about *metanoia*, about change’¹⁰¹ and therefore causes conversion or change when it enters a culture. He adds that the culture cannot homogenise the Gospel but rather any given culture must deal with the whole Gospel since the Gospel transcends every culture. In the light of these considerations, it is therefore crucial to take the challenge of contextualizing the Gospel in the context of a particular culture. Christ needs to be known and made known as the Christ of all cultures including the indigenous culture so that Christianity is not perceived as a Western or foreign religion. The Christian message needs to be presented in such a way that the indigenous peoples of Sabah can identify themselves as indigenous Christians rather than as Westernized Christians. When the Christian message is made relevant to them culturally, they are able to rely on the promise of the Gospel, trust it and begin to live it out together for others by responding to the claim of the Gospel and seeking to relate to it in their everyday lives.¹⁰²

The transportation of Western culture to mission fields in the past is associated with the history of the colonial conquest by Western powers. For that reason, Christianity was identified with colonialism. During the colonial era, the missionaries were shaped by the European culture and understanding of Christianity and therefore only knew a European version of Christianity. As a result, Eurocentric Christianity was imposed on the indigenous people and Christianity was associated with European life. In this postcolonial era, it is necessary for the Kadazandusun to rethink their theology, framework, objectives and practices of mission. There is a need for a hermeneutical process to begin to resolve tensions between the Christian message and the culture, making a true connection between faith and life.

In mission history, the Gospel has often been identified with the culture of the missionary. Today, Christians are more aware that the Gospel is not only a transforming challenge to human culture, but also to the church itself. It is undeniable that in the community of God’s culture, the Gospel and culture intersect and often clash because as

¹⁰¹ Schreiter 1994: 22-23.

¹⁰² Giancarlo Collet (translated by John Bowden), ‘From Theological Vandalism to Theological Romanticism? Questions about a Multicultural Identity of Christianity’ in Greinacher & Mette 1994: 34.

the Gospel enters a culture, it comes both as redeemer and judge.¹⁰³ Wherever we as Christians are, wherever the incarnated God's mission is, the sacramental presence of Jesus Christ – we need to be alive to the transforming work of the Spirit within us and among us, as well as in the world around us.¹⁰⁴ Hiebert asserted that:

Critical contextualization takes the Bible seriously; recognises the work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of all believers; sees the church as a hermeneutical community; and sees each church operating within a global network, ensuring a broader international perspective.¹⁰⁵

7. CONCLUSION

Christian conversion is more than bringing an individual or a community to a decision to follow Christ. It is a step of commitment and an experience of consummation, in which the Spirit witnesses with the spirit of the convert that he or she is a child of God through Christ (Gal 4:6). This experience happens when the Gospel is conveyed and accepted in a meaningful way that penetrates the whole person and community. In Gal 3:14 it is written that, '...the blessing of Abraham might come to the Gentiles or heathen through Christ, receiving the promise of the Spirit through faith.' This is a process, bringing a person out of worshipping those who as by Paul (Gal 4:8). Although the evangelical missionaries emphasised 'sudden' conversion, conversion is an on-going process. It is a journey of faith as a follower of Christ with others in the body of Christ. As Nicholls stated:

True conversion involves a radical transformation of the whole of culture-worldview, values, institutions and customs. The gospel rejects those elements, which are contrary to the revelation of God, converts those that reflect man made in the image of God and creates new elements, which are distinctive to the gospel.¹⁰⁶

This transformation requires nurture and takes time. In retrospect, the encounter of the indigenous religio-cultural beliefs and Christianity during the beginning of Christianity in Sabah reflects the need for dialectical dialogue between the missionaries and indigenous people since both had different worldviews and religious ideas and practices. According to Thomas Groome:

Christian inculturation is a dialectical encounter between an already cultured version of Christian faith and another culture that is either new to Christianity or has aspects not yet explicitly permeated by it. As an 'encounter' it is a two-way exchange – from 'gospel' to culture and from culture to 'gospel' – and as 'dialectical' it reflects a threefold dynamic

¹⁰³ Hiebert 1987: 255.

¹⁰⁴ Johnson and Clark 2000: 28.

¹⁰⁵ Hiebert 1987: 257-258.

¹⁰⁶ Nicholls 1979: 68.

affirming and cherishing, of refusing or questioning, and of moving on to new and transformed possibilities for both 'gospel' and culture.¹⁰⁷

He concluded:

Inculturation is a dialectical encounter between Christian faith and a particular culture in which the culture is affirmed, challenged, and transformed toward God's reign, and in which Christian faith is likewise affirmed, challenged and enriched by this unique instance of its realisation.¹⁰⁸

The missionaries did not see the need to communicate and inculturate the gospel within the culture of the receiving people, by expressing it in terms of their traditions, beliefs, customs, institutions, art and artefacts, symbols, myths and rites. They were not prepared to analyse and assess the culture of the indigenous people. Today with Cox we can say:

The gospel initially must become thoroughly at home in the particular culture of which the traditional religion forms a part – gospel must be communicated in culturally comprehensible ways. From within the culture, the gospel is able to call traditional religions to conversion and new life. Such conversion does not involve a return to powerlessness under the oppression of a dominant Western culture, but it will produce a response to Christ in ways appropriate to traditional religious expressions.¹⁰⁹

The SPG and CMS missionaries were responsible for preaching and teaching the Gospel to the indigenous peoples in Sabah. This included providing mission education and medical care, which brought transformation spiritually and socially. However, due to lack of inculturation of the Gospel and their Eurocentric methods of evangelism and worship, Christ was not presented in a way manner that he could become incarnate for the people.¹¹⁰ From the perspective of the indigenous people, the Gospel needs to be fully understood and embraced within their own culture so as to enable them to identify themselves as 'indigenous Christians'. This will happen when the indigenous people of Sabah develop an understanding that addresses both their indigenous spirituality and also helps them to face the tension between traditional values and values related to modernisation.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Groome, 'Inculturation: How to Proceed in a Pastoral Context' in Greinacher & Mette 1994: 121.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 122.

¹⁰⁹ Cox 1999: 225.

¹¹⁰ The Gospel was unconsciously presented and 'wrapped in a Western cultural wrapper'. See Gitari, 'Evangelization and Culture: Primary Evangelism in Northern Kenya' in Samuel. & Hauser 1989: 102.

CHAPTER 7

ANGLICAN CHURCH IN SABAH AND IN WIDER ANGLICAN CONTEXT

1. INTRODUCTION

Prior to the coming of Anglicanism to Sarawak in the 1850s and later to Sabah in the 1880s through the establishment of the Church of England, the Kadazandusun practised traditional religion or animism for generations. As discussed in chapter 3, the worldview and religio-cultural background of the Kadazandusun, are in contrast to Christianity. For this reason, their traditional worship expression and the Anglican liturgical worship were poles apart. Their concepts of God and divine beings were different from Christianity and their pattern of worship was closely connected with the spirit world. That was especially important in the cycle of rice cultivation¹ and major life events. Like the Anglican missionaries who introduced Christianity, they believed in a Supreme Being as the creator. But contrary to Christian belief and practices, they also recognised the omnipresent existence of good and malevolent spirits that needed to be appeased. It is the purpose of this chapter to compare Anglicanism in its English expression with the way in which it has developed in Sabah.

2. ANGLICANISM DEFINED

The term ‘Anglican’ is derived from *ecclesia anglicana*, a Medieval Latin phrase meaning English Church. It appears in the 1215 Magna Carta in the statement: *Quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit*, the English church shall be free² and the 1534 Act of Supremacy. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it began to shed its national connotations referring more specifically to a distinct theological position. In the nineteenth century, *ecclesia anglicana* indicated the independence of the Church of England from the Roman Catholic Church. Paul Avis argues that the Anglican Church did not emerge at the Reformation but that an ancient church already existed in England, under ‘an oppressive foreign jurisdiction’.³ Avis proposes that the history of

¹ Traditionally the indigenous people of Sabah are primarily agriculturalists.

² Avis, ‘What is Anglicanism’ in *The Study of Anglicanism*, Sykes, Booty and Knight (eds.), (1998): 459.

³ Avis, P. (1989): 300.

the Church of England needs to be interpreted by employing the ‘Erastian’ paradigm, that is, under the control of the State until the Oxford movement.⁴ Historically, however, the Church of England grew out of the Reformation in England, and was formulated and developed in a particular context.

The term Anglicanism is delineated and interpreted in various ways. In 1838, John Henry Newman, a leader in the Oxford Movement who converted to Catholicism used the term ‘Anglicanism’ in distinction to ‘Protestantism’. Sometimes the term was equivalent to Anglo-Catholicism, or English Catholicism. In recent years, Anglicanism simply refers to that type of Christianity which originated from the Church in England,⁵ established either under the Roman occupation of Britain, or by Celtic missionaries from Ireland, or in the Roman mission of St Augustine in 597 CE. However, Phillip Tovey asserts, ‘Anglicanism was born in the British Isles at the Reformation.’ Nonetheless, the term *Anglicanism* was common currency from the 1850s when the first colonial churches became independent provinces. The two historic provinces of the Church of England are Canterbury and York. Until the disestablishment of the Church in Wales in 1920, the Church of England included the four ancient Welsh dioceses.⁶ Similar to other Christian churches in Europe, the Church of England expanded around the world as a result of the expansion of the British Empire. As stated by Kwok Pui Lan, ‘The nineteenth century often referred to as the great century of Christian mission, was also a period of political expansion and empire building by the West.’⁷ Subsequently, with first Lambeth Conference in 1867, the Anglican Communion became more organised. The creation of the Lambeth Conference was to give new churches in other regions autonomy for the sake of missionary expansion and for them to take counsel. During the Lambeth Conference in 1930, resolutions 48 and 49 clearly defined the AC as a fellowship, within the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church, of those duly constituted dioceses, provinces, or regional churches in communion with the see of Canterbury.⁸ The resolutions both assert that the churches in the AC share common

⁴ See *Towards an Authentic Paradigm for Anglicanism* in *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, Avis, P. (1989): 300–311. See also *Forming an Anglican nation in England* in *An Introduction to World Anglicanism*, Kaye, B. (2008): 19-40.

⁵ Chapman, 2006: 4-5.

⁶ Tovey 2004: 130.

⁷ Kwok Pui-Lan, *The Legacy of Cultural Hegemony in the Anglican Church* in *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, Douglas & Kwok 2001: 47.

⁸ Avis 2007: 8. See also Coleman 1992: 83ff.

characteristics and acknowledge ‘a providential ordering of distinct cultures and national destinies within which the common faith and order are expressed.’⁹ The resolutions stressed the AC is a fellowship and not intended to promote centralisation or uniformity and, therefore, its origins should not be reduced to Western imperialism or colonialism.¹⁰ The question of authority in the AC was again emphasised during the Lambeth Conference in 1948.¹¹ Since its inception, the Lambeth Conference is not meant to be a governing body for Anglicans. Therefore, it does not have power to bind or limit the autonomy of national General Synods. The Archbishop of Canterbury has no jurisdiction outside the Church of England although he remains as metropolitan of overseas dioceses that are ‘extra-provincial’.¹² He is the Bishop of the Diocese of Canterbury, the oldest diocese in the Church of England that has pride of place within England and, by extension, throughout the Communion. To be in communion with the See of Canterbury is a visible sign of Anglican unity. The Archbishop’s Primacy of honour among the Bishops of the Communion is indicated in his chairing of the Lambeth Conferences held once every ten years since 1867, and at the Primates Meetings.

As stated in Resolutions 48 and 49 of the 1930 Lambeth Conference, the AC is the name given to the collection of national churches¹³ throughout the world. Historically most are associated with the Church of England in terms of beliefs or doctrines, worship and church structures, with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Chapman asserts that the unifying elements of the national church were a doctrinal, liturgical, and historical memory, and a sense of Englishness.¹⁴ By the eighteenth century, the legally established Church of England and Ireland represented a particular interpretation of Protestantism that was in essence quite distinct from the mainstream Protestant groupings in Europe, that is, the Lutheran Churches of Germany and Scandinavia, and

⁹ Avis, P. (2007): 8-9.

¹⁰ Avis 2007: 8-9.

¹¹ See *The Meaning and Unity of the Anglican Communion* in Authority in the Anglican Communion, Sykes 1987.

¹² Martin 1997: 39. Extra-provincial Anglican churches refer to small, semi-independent church entities within the Anglican Communion.

¹³ The idea of a national church acting independently of others is the heart of Anglicanism. See Chapman 2006: 5.

¹⁴ Chapman 2006: 15.

the Reformed (Calvinist and Zwinglian) Churches of the Netherlands, Scotland and Switzerland.¹⁵

For four centuries, the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) was recognised as the essence, the symbol of unity of the Anglican churches across the globe. Harrison and Samson state, ‘What came to be known as Anglicanism grew up round, and was formed by, Prayer Book worship.’ Until today, Anglicanism is still associated with Thomas Cranmer and his Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552. The BCP 1662 is unique to Anglicanism.

Tovey claims that the Prayer Books were the consequence of doctrinal debates due to cultural development and the need for inculturation when, for instance, using the vernacular in worship. He identifies three main factors contributing to the doctrinal debates: the technological change that contributed to the rise of the printing press; the cultural shift towards uniformity in worship; and the changing political situation.¹⁶

In recent years, however, there have been many translations of the BCP in various provinces in the Communion. Attempts are made to accommodate the once uniform liturgical worship to the rich cultural diversity in the AC. That is to say, to introduce a process of inculturation. Although inculturation in many ways diluted the colonial English church, it made Anglicanism relevant to other contexts and enriches Anglican worship. Avis defines Anglicanism as ‘the faith, practice and spirit of the churches of the Anglican Communion’ and asserts that Anglicanism ‘can be identified by its doctrine, order and worship,’ referring to the belief and teaching of Anglicans, the structure and organisation of their churches and the way they use liturgies and sacraments.¹⁷ However, he argues that the term ‘Anglicanism’ has to be redefined using hermeneutical suspicion by asking two significant questions: ‘Is Anglicanism merely the decadent legacy of unprincipled Anglo-Saxon imperialism?’ and ‘Can Anglicanism takes its stand on and find its justification in the essence of Christianity, the Christian Gospel?’¹⁸ In relation to Avis’ two questions, the Anglican Church in Sabah could

¹⁵ Yates 2008: 1.

¹⁶ Tovey 2004: 130.

¹⁷ Avis 2007: 18.

¹⁸ Avis, ‘What is ‘Anglicanism’ in Sykes, Booty & Knight 1988: 459. See also Avis 2007: 18-19.

deepen its understanding of Anglicanism for inculturation by asking ‘In what ways is Anglicanism more than the decadent legacy of unprincipled imperialism?’ and ‘How can Anglicanism take its stand on and find its justification in the essence of Christianity, the Christian Gospel?’ Such an inquiry will not only prompt the Anglican Church of Sabah to redefine its identity and integrity but also hopefully inspire or even provoke the church to reassess its vision and mission of Christianity.

According to Chatfield, two periods are critical in defining Anglicanism. First, the period before 1500, that is, before the Reformation when the English Church was still part of the Roman Catholic Church. The Anglo-Catholics today embrace this definition. Second, the period from 1500 onwards, when the English Church participated in the rise of Protestantism. The Anglo-Catholics define Anglicanism based on the former period, whereas the Evangelical Anglicans understand Anglicanism in terms of the latter period.¹⁹ For Evangelical Anglicans, the crucial figure is Thomas Cranmer since Anglicanism was born in the Reformation debates of the 1530s.

Yates states that Anglicanism is rooted in the development of a particular theological and liturgical stance in the first three decades of the seventeenth century. He asserts that the theological and liturgical innovations of the 1620s and 1630s were a major factor in the Civil Wars of the 1640s. He therefore claims that the origins of Anglicanism (the invention of ‘Anglicanism’) lay in this period of theological and liturgical change and the key figure was William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633-1645.²⁰ He identifies five important characteristics of the history of Anglicanism:²¹

The concept ‘the Anglican *via media*’²²

The justification of episcopacy²³

The doctrine of real presence in the Eucharist²⁴

¹⁹ Chatfield 1998: 20.

²⁰ Yates 2008: 1-4.

²¹ Yates 2008: 5.

²² This refers to a bridge church within Protestantism as opposed to the more recent Anglican view that *via media* was one between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.

²³ A strong belief that episcopacy was not an essential characteristic of a true church but it was the best form of church government, which other Protestants should incorporate into their systems.

²⁴ It rejected any concept of transubstantiation or consubstantiation but felt that Calvinist interpretations of that presence, generally defined as receptionism, were inadequate and misleading.

Dedication to a set liturgy as being an essential characteristic of a properly ordered church²⁵

The church-state relationship: a belief that Christian society necessitated an established church.²⁶

Hemming observed six factors that have characterised Anglicanism since the time of the Reformation:²⁷ First, the BCP (1549, 1552 and 1660) is an ordered form of Morning and Evening Prayer, with an official lectionary and a monthly recital of the Psalms together with an official form for Holy Communion. Anglican worship is therefore liturgical and the various provinces of the AC are united in common liturgical practice since their prayer books are substantially the same. There are three public services: Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer and the Eucharist. For the Morning and Evening Prayer, the Apostles' Creed is recited, and for the Eucharist, the Nicene Creed. The Prayer Book, with its creeds and the theology preserved in its prayers also binds members of the AC together in a unity of doctrine. The Prayer Book is pastoral, providing a liturgy addressing the pastoral needs of the Christian community. It is based on Scripture and the reading of the Bible during worship services. In Sabah, the Anglican Church includes the three liturgical Bible readings during Sunday services.²⁸ Second, it incorporates a private prayer '*Preces Privatae*'²⁹ initiated and practised by Andrew Lancelot, often known as 'The spiritual master of Anglicanism'.³⁰ Third, the Anglican Church practices, 'The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity', an all-embracing

²⁵ A belief that the liturgy set forth in the BCP was the best such liturgy devised.

²⁶ The government supported the church and the church in turn required its members to demonstrate loyalty to a particular government, to be members of the church. It was a position manifested in the period between 1670 and 1830 in a continuing belief in the divinely ordained nature of monarchy and the doctrine of non-resistance to lawful authority

²⁷ Hemming 'Anglicanism and the Spiritual Life' in Kingston 1987: 34-43.

²⁸ In the Anglican Church of Sabah, there are normally three readings during Sunday services taken from the Old Testament, Gospel and Epistles respectively following the lectionary.

²⁹ The *Preces Privatae* was Andrew Lancelot's personal book of devotion and prayer including morning and evening prayers and prayers for the whole week.

³⁰ Most probably, based on the idea of Lancelot's *Preces Privatae*, the missionaries taught and encouraged new converts to pray and to have their devotion time. Thus, it is a common practice of the Anglican Church in Sabah since its inception to encourage or even teach its members to pray not only during the worship services but also in their own private time. For example, both of my parents developed the habit of praying every morning and evening ever since their conversion. In fact, prayer is strongly emphasized in the Anglican Church of Sabah and since the beginning of the Anglican mission, it is considered as the 'power given by God' to overcome the power of the Evil one that instills fear in the hearts of new Christians. For that reason, Anglicans in Sabah were and are urged to be prayerful in order to cast out fear. This concept and practice has to do with the religious background of the Kadazandusun as elaborated in chapter 3.

attitude, associated with Richard Hooker. Fourth, the Anglican Church is a pastoral church. This is reflected in the prayers of the BCP, which cover all sorts of conditions of men and women, as its occasional offices include baptism, marriage and burials, thanksgiving after childbirth, ministry to the sick with laying on of hands, anointing, absolution and Holy Communion, and an order of service for young people, as well as family prayers. Visitation, care and concern ministries are part of the pastoral ministry of the Anglican Church. Fifth, the Anglican Church emphasises moral living as an integral part of devotion and discipleship, as stressed by Kenneth Kirk, the late Bishop of Oxford. Sixth, there are elements of sobriety and mysticism and finally the revival of religious orders.

3. THE ETHOS OF ANGLICANISM: ITS SPIRITUALITY AND ITS TEACHING

The doctrine, order and worship of the AC are associated with what Anglicans believe and teach. This includes how churches are structured and organised, and how they use liturgies and sacraments. These are the three central and interlocking areas of Anglican life: the faith, practice and spirit of the Anglican churches. As Hannaford states, ‘There is no distinctive Anglican confession of faith beyond the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion and their Augustinian emphasis on grace’.³¹ This is because the doctrines or teachings of the Anglican Church are laid out in the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion based on God’s saving grace – justification by faith.

Sykes states that the distinctiveness of Anglicanism concerns faith and order. He explains that faith is about beliefs and doctrine, whereas order is concerned with practice, structure, ministry and authority. For him, faith is reflected in life, and order is grounded in theology.³² He explains the distinctiveness of Anglicanism in six pointers.³³ First, Anglicans profess the orthodox Trinitarian and Christological faith of the whole church. Second, Anglicans acknowledge that they receive faith from the Church on the authority of the Bible and the creeds. Third, Anglicans confess that the creeds derive their authority from Scripture, directly and indirectly. Fourth, Anglicans insist that the Scriptures themselves are primarily concerned with teaching the way of salvation, rather

³¹ Hannaford 1998: 176.

³² Sykes 1984: 41.

³³ Sykes 1984: 48-49.

than prescribing details of worship and practice. Fifth, Anglicans recognise that the Church's inheritance from Scripture and tradition requires interpretation and application in a manner relevant to changing circumstances. Sixth, Anglicans deplore innovation in the area of the fundamental *credenda*³⁴ of the Christian faith. In spite of the distinctiveness, he points out that Anglicanism is not distinctive in terms of its creed but rather in terms of authority; in the ways the beliefs are defined, legitimated, interpreted and maintained. Sykes describes Anglicanism as an expression of dynamic orthodoxy.³⁵

Formularies of the Church of England are as stated in Canon A5:³⁶

The doctrine of the Church of England is grounded in the Holy Scriptures, and in such teachings of the ancient Fathers and Councils of the Church as are agreeable to the said Scriptures. In particular, such doctrine is to be found in the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordinal.

Based on the responses I received from the respondents in my study, the fact that the Anglican Church is grounded in the Bible, as reflected in its Prayer (liturgy) book, and consistently used during the worship service, is one of the reasons they remain faithful members of the church.³⁷ Nonetheless, many propose that Anglican worship would be even more unique if it was modified (inculturated) and made relevant to the cultural context of each ethnic or racial group in order to make it lively and engaging:³⁸

Keunikan aturcara kebaktian/liturgi ibadah Anglikan adalah ibadah yang alkitabiah, ibadah yang dipimpin oleh Roh Kudus yang memberi kebebasan kepada jemaah untuk beribadah dengan tertib dan penuh disiplin serta seimbang dari segi nyanyian (hymn dan nyanyian bersifat Karismatik) dapat memenuhi keperluan generasi muda dan generasi lama. Keunikan ibadah Anglikan sebenarnya adalah kebebasan penyembahan mengikut keunikan budaya setiap bangsa dan suku kaum tertentu agar lebih hidup dan bermakna.³⁹

According to the Swanstons, Anglicanism captures and expresses its spirituality in three ways. Firstly, it is the sense of the transcendence of God although there seems to

³⁴ *Credenda* refers to an article of faith.

³⁵ Sykes 1984: 49.

³⁶ See the Canons of the Church of England, fourth edition, 1986, London: Church House Publishing.

³⁷ Interviews/conversations with different focus groups in August 2009 and September 2010.

³⁸ The respondents are from the age range of 14 – 40 years. They responded to my question (forum): What is the uniqueness of Anglican worship? that I posted in the Members of Anglican Worldwide (BM) Facebook group account with 2,455 members from Sabah, Sarawak, West Malaysia and Indonesia. Church members in Kota Kinabalu, Sandakan, Tawau, and Lahad Datu and in Tongud, Kinabatangan from different age ranges to whom I posed such question generally affirmed this element as the strength of Anglican worship.

³⁹ Translation: The uniqueness of the Anglican worship is its order of worship (liturgy) that is biblically grounded and led by the Holy Spirit empowering the worshippers to worship in freedom and yet in order, discipline and balance, incorporating both hymns and Charismatic (contemporary) songs in the service. The Anglican worship caters for the needs of both the young and old generation. But the 'real' uniqueness of Anglican worship is the freedom to worship God in whatever cultural context; an ethnic or racial group is one that makes Anglican worship more lively and meaningful.

be a difference of emphasis between traditional and contemporary worship. Secondly, Anglicans believe in their freedom as God's children that can be experienced cognitively, affectively and spiritually. Thirdly, Anglicans are convinced of the love of God revealed in Jesus Christ and therefore have a strong and loving pastoral theology.⁴⁰

4. ANGLICAN WORSHIP DEFINED

Worship is the church's primary act of faith. The word worship is a contraction of two words 'worth' and 'ship'. Worship involves both giving worth to what is worthy and giving expression to that estimate of value.⁴¹ Furthermore, worship is acknowledging the dignity, the infinite value of God. It is the attitude and act of one who realises how much God is worth. The author of the book of Revelation describes beautifully the vision of the worship of God in heaven (Revelation 4:9-11) implying that to be involved in worship is to be captivated in a timeless and cosmic activity that draws the worshippers into the very presence of the living God.⁴²

Evelyn Underhill defines worship as 'the response of the creature to the Eternal.' According to her, worship may be overt or direct, unconscious or conscious and whatever its form of expression may be, it is always a subject-object relationship since worship is an acknowledgement of Transcendence.⁴³ She describes Christian worship as a supernatural action; and more than a supernatural action, a supernatural life. It is the response of the human creature to the goodness of God, in which the worshipper moves out towards Reality, sheds self-occupation, and finds the true basis of his life. She stresses that:

Christian worship is a distinct response to a distinct revelation; God's self-disclosure to His creatures at a particular time and space, under particular human accidents, entering the time-series to illuminate and save – a disclosure which spreads, to interpret and transform the whole of human experience.⁴⁴

Underhill's definition and description of worship indicate that worship is a sacred encounter between the One to be worshipped (God) and the one or individuals

⁴⁰ According to Jocelyn and John Swanston, these were the principles they used in teaching and guiding the new Christians in Segama to worship God. Personal communication on 28 October 2012 and 14 November 2012.

⁴¹ Price and Weil 2000: 8.

⁴² See BCP 1964: 81 and BAS 1980: 196.

⁴³ Underhill 1937: 3.

⁴⁴ Underhill 1937: 339.

(worshippers). Worship takes the worshippers beyond the realm of reason in their approach to God.

Liturgy shapes and forms the worshipper's understanding of God, of themselves and of their world experientially. What they say and do in worship or how they worship is critical because worship embodies (incarnates) their theology. For Anglicans, the BCP is the standard by which the religious life expresses itself in worship. Its purpose is to provide an authoritative form for the expression, in public and corporately, of the human desire to worship God, revealed by his Son, a Person who is Spirit, a Person whom we can love with all our hearts, minds and souls. We too are spirits and because God is our Father, we are God's children. It is this sense of relationship at the root of our religion, which constitutes our right to approach God, and which, once felt, draws us to worship in this way.⁴⁵ Thus, for Anglicans, the BCP is the guidebook, toolbox, the outline and discipline in worship. The common prayers that emerge are the shared art of God's people, the enacting of the stories, songs, poetry, and the dances of their lives with the God who creates, nurtures, and sustains life.

The essential characteristic of worship is the acknowledgement by a human being of the ultimate place of God in their lives. The phenomenon of worship within the Christian tradition is the engagement with its central article of faith, the incarnation. It is the assertion that God has acted within human history through a radical identification with Jesus of Nazareth. Christian worship, as a participation in Christ's own self-offering, is an act formative of Christian community. It is an act, conducted within the context of the whole church, and which represents the one, Catholic Church.⁴⁶

The International Anglican Liturgical Consultation held in Prague in August 2005⁴⁷ laid out in a discussion document the ethos, or elements that are valued in Anglican worship, specifically worship that includes and honours the proclamation of the Word and celebrates the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. It is an inherited tradition that holds together both Catholic and Reformed. The texts are authorised but there is freedom for varieties of expression, which reflect the aesthetic potential of

⁴⁵ Suter & Addison 1919: 1.

⁴⁶ Brown 1965: 15.

⁴⁷ The International Anglican Liturgical Consultation in Prague, August 2005: 47-48.

environment, music, art, and movement, offered as appropriate to the culture. There is a symbiotic relationship between corporate worship and individual piety. Worship in an ordered liturgical space and the liturgical ministry of bishops, priests and deacons is recognised.

4.1 History

The Church of England is merely reformed Catholicism, which traces back to the early Fathers, the Apostles and Prophets. The emphasis on the Scriptures, the creeds and the continuing flow of church life through history, is marked particularly by the practice of ordination⁴⁸ through the hands of episcopally consecrated bishops.⁴⁹ There is no distinctive Anglican confession of faith beyond the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion and their Augustinian emphasis on grace.⁵⁰

In order to understand the history of Anglican worship, it is helpful to trace the development of the BCP. In 1538, the official translations of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments were produced and were authorised in 1541. In 1544, the Litany appeared in English. In 1548, the Order of Holy Communion included the 'Prayer of Humble Access', which was composed by Cranmer. It became the hallmark of seventeenth-century Anglican Eucharistic spirituality. The first Act of Uniformity – the Act of Parliament requiring use of BCP plus weekly church attendance was issued in January 1549, the first editions of the Prayer Book appeared in March to be in use by Pentecost on the 9 June.⁵¹ For many decades, the 1662 Book took precedence, and was given pride of place.⁵² However, with Lambeth 1948 it was agreed that uniformity in the sense of everyone having to use the same book, was not necessary as long as Anglican worship and doctrine were compatible with it.⁵³

⁴⁸ The BCP and the Ordinal explains that the ordained are pastoral ministers of the Gospel, not a mediating priesthood.

⁴⁹ The bishops exercises oversight over a diocese of local churches, and also acts in the name of the whole Church of God in ordaining presbyters (priests) who have been lawfully called and sent by congregations and tested by those representing the whole Church. The bishop also in charged with being a trustee of the faith and practice of the Church diachronically, through time.

⁵⁰ Hannaford 1998: 176.

⁵¹ Jasper 1989: 130.

⁵² See footnote no. 12 in chapter 1 – The BCP Story – Celebrating 350 Years of BCP (1662-2012).

⁵³ Irvine 2008: 5.

The BCP is distinctively Anglican. It reflects the theological and liturgical characteristics of its age and is considered as the only theological reference point of the Anglican Church because it informs the identity of the Anglican Church. It is the trademark of Anglicanism. Today there are two authorised prayer books in the Church of England, the Book of Common Prayer (1662) and Common Worship (2000).⁵⁴

4.2 Key Features of Anglican Worship

Corporate worship is the encounter of God and people in Christian assembly. Christian worship includes giving reverence to God as well as living our lives for God and gathering as God's people centred on God. Liturgical worship is always about the corporate gathering.⁵⁵ The Anglican tradition has grasped firmly the primacy of worship and its nature as the corporate voice of the church. The BCP states, 'The work of the Church in the world is to offer to God on behalf of all (men) the worship which is his due; to make known to all (men) the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to unite all (men) to God in one family.'⁵⁶ Thus the offering of worship is the primary work and the basic obligation of the church. The Greek word '*leitourgia*' is the root of 'liturgy' and denotes a service one is required to render. Over the centuries, the word 'liturgy' has come to describe not only an abiding sense of 'duty', but also the style or way in which the church undertakes and fulfils this duty. Liturgical worship is an integral and on-going part of the historic tradition of the church, and a natural part of the Anglican Church's heritage. Bradshaw states that Anglicans maintain their worship and that it reflects a basic claim of their denomination to be an integral part of the Catholic Church. Their liturgy is not *sui generis*, being never more than a local and contemporary adaptation of what has been handed down from apostolic times.⁵⁷

The distinctiveness of early Anglican worship was that it was fundamentally scriptural in theology, intelligible in language and corporate in expression. Until 1948, the BCP was accepted as a bond of unity between and within the various churches; but within that unity, a variety in forms of worship could exist.⁵⁸ Holeton lays out four

⁵⁴ Common Worship is a series of volumes that provide a wide variety of prayers and liturgical resources for use within a framework and common structures. See www.churchofengaland.org/prayer-worship/worship

⁵⁵ Earey 2002: 13.

⁵⁶ The Book of Common Prayer 1964: 553.

⁵⁷ Bradshaw 2002: 12.

⁵⁸ Jasper 1989: 194.

aspects of Anglican tradition.⁵⁹ Firstly, the practice of worship is the corporate voice of the church. Secondly, the Anglican liturgies are the heirs of the Western Christian tradition. Thirdly, the English Reformation coincided with the spread of printing and has created an ideal of Anglicans as people of the book. And fourthly, historic Anglicanism has also inherited a tradition of ecclesiastical authority, which focuses on the nation, the bishop and the parish priest. Anglicanism is a mode of making sense of the experience of God.⁶⁰ As Holmes states, ‘When Anglicanism is at its best its liturgy, its poetry, its music and its life can create a world of wonder in which it is very easy to fall in love with God’.⁶¹ Jasper, Holeton and Holmes acknowledged the significance of Anglican worship, which is scriptural, theological, liturgical and communal, and draws the worshippers to God.

For Irvine, a key characteristic of Anglican worship is the emphasis upon word and sacrament. According to him, the twin foci of worship in word and sacrament reflect the ‘reformed’ and ‘catholic’ features of the history of Anglican Reformations, and were asserted as the condition upon which Lambeth 1958 approved liturgical revision across the provinces and churches of the Communion.⁶² He also observes that Anglican worship is liturgical and has an ordered shape and common structure – ‘*lex orandi, lex credendi*’ (as we worship, so we believe). It is reciprocal and works in both directions, with our belief being shaped by our praying together, and by authorised forms of worship being shaped by the doctrinal understanding and perspectives of those who composed and authorised them. Thus, worship is essentially corporate and sees a wider social intentionality and bearing. The Bible is central, to be read in the vernacular according to a lectionary system to ensure the reading of the whole Bible.⁶³ In my questionnaire to the clergy (Appendix 1d), one of the questions was: Is the Prayer/liturgy book helpful for our indigenous people especially in the rural churches to worship God? The responses received included: ‘It is easy to follow the service, it helps worshippers to worship God very orderly – when to know when to start and end the

⁵⁹ Holeton 1990: 24-25.

⁶⁰ Holmes 2004: 1.

⁶¹ Holmes 2004: 5.

⁶² Irvine 2008: 7.

⁶³ Irvine 2008: 7

service and it has very good and solid substance – Bible reading, prayer books...⁶⁴ ‘It is scriptural. The Order of Holy Communion has 28 parts. Except for numbers 1 and 28, which are singing of hymns, the rest are Bible-based. A variety and a lot of Bible texts are quoted in the whole service. A closer look at the Order of Service reveals its biblical richness.’⁶⁵ Nonetheless, it was also noted that the Anglican worship ‘can be dry and superficial if the service leader and worshippers are not well prepared mentally, emotionally and spiritually. It can be a great disadvantage to the non-literates.’⁶⁶ ‘No, it is not for everybody. Education plays an important role here. It is more than the ability to read the order in the service book or LCD screen, but the rising of spiritual understanding of what they say and do during the worship service.’⁶⁷

As pointed out above, Anglican rituals are found primarily in the BCP, a collection of liturgy developed by Thomas Cranmer in the sixteenth century that has been modified periodically. The characteristics of these rites are reflected in the following patterns of the Anglican worship service:

Extensive reading of scripture (based on the Lectionary)
Rhythms of year, week, day
Regular celebration of Holy Communion
Baptism in public worship
Prayers – thanksgiving (general) confession, intercessions
Extensive intercessions – focusing on the world, those in authority and the global church, local concerns, including those whose lives are shadowed by poverty, sickness, rejection, war, and natural disaster
Use of the Lord’s Prayer
Use of responsive texts
Knowing words, music, and actions by heart
Common prayers
Corporate and participatory worship

⁶⁴ Personal communication with Bishop Melter Jiki Tais, assistant bishop of the Diocese of Sabah on 27 February 2013.

⁶⁵ Personal communication with a diocesan priest on 1 March 2013.

⁶⁶ Personal communication with Bishop Melter Jiki Tais on 27 February 2013.

⁶⁷ Personal communication with Rev. Canon Musa Ambai, Vicar of St Andrew’s Mission, Beluran 21 February 2013.

Use of creeds in worship
The openness and accessibility of our worship

Thus, Anglican worship stresses mainly the Scriptures, prayers and intercessions, creeds or confession of the Christian faith, and the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist. Moreover, the Anglican worship service is structured according to a liturgical text, regular, participatory and corporate. Anglican worship is fundamentally scriptural in theology, intelligible in language and corporate in expression. In the past, although the BCP was accepted as a bond of unity between the various churches, within that unity a variety in forms of worship could be implemented.⁶⁸

4.2.1 Biblical

Anglican worship is grounded in Scriptures due to Cranmer's emphasis on Scripture – 'to be read with reverence and fear; for everyone, the learned and unlearned'. For Cranmer, Scripture provided the resources and tools for the Christian life. He considered the Bible as the supreme source of authority in every aspect of daily living by which the Christian life should be shaped both in public and in private, but especially in the life and worship of the church. This led to the formulation of doctrinal statements in the 42 Articles of 1553. Article 5: 'The Doctrine of Holy Scripture is sufficient to Salvation.'⁶⁹ The Bible was translated into English in 1543 and 1547 and was required to be read in the churches. The Act of Uniformity and the use of the Bible in English requiring the use of the BCP of 1549 established the first major stage in liturgical reform.⁷⁰ For example, the Eucharistic Prayer of 1549 replaced the Roman rite and relied entirely on biblical accounts. The introduction to the BCP, 'Concerning the Service of the Church',⁷¹ strongly stressed that:

The whole Bible, (or the greatest part of it), should be read over once every year, intending thereby, that the clergy, and especially those who were ministers in the congregation, should (by often reading and meditation in God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine and refute those who were adversaries to the truth; and further that the people (by daily hearing of holy Scripture read in the Church) might continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be inflamed with love of his true religion. Nothing is ordained to be read, but the very pure Word of God, the holy Scriptures, or that which is agreeable to the same, and that

⁶⁸ Jasper 1989: 194.

⁶⁹ Cartledge, 'Reformed Anglicanism: The Legacy of Thomas Cranmer and His Attitude towards Scripture' in Yates 2008: 26.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 28-31.

⁷¹ The Book of Common Prayer 1964: 5-6.

in such a language and order as is most easy and plain for the understanding both of the readers and hearers.

Cranmer's emphasis on the Bible in English in reforming the liturgy for public worship implies the importance of using the vernacular or local dialects and languages for the reading of scripture in worship everywhere. In Sabah, the Malay-speaking congregations have used the Indonesian version of the Bible in public worship, Bible-study and for personal meditation. It is also used in theological seminaries and Bible schools. In 1995, the Bible Society of Malaysia (BSM) led by Dr. Daud Soesilo, the United Bible Society (UBS) Area Translation Coordinator for Asia Pacific, and a team of translators and proofreaders, successfully published the Malaysian version of the Bible using dynamic equivalence translation. It was anticipated to replace the Indonesian version.⁷² But, surprisingly, the Malay-speaking congregations in Sabah still prefer to use the Indonesian version in spite of many terms and phrases that are not similar to the Malaysian language. In addition, the BSM launched the revised Dusun Bible *Buuk Do Kinoringan* (Book of God) on 4 July 2007 but it is not very comprehensible to the Kadazandusun in the Kinabatangan and Lahad Datu.

In the Anglican churches, liturgy is concerned with biblical preaching. The task of the preacher is to proclaim the prophetic and apostolic word, as set forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and to interpret God's judgement and mercy in the contemporary situation. The Lambeth Conference Report 1958 states, 'The Church must live by the Bible. More than that, it must know itself as the Church of the Bible, the people of God.'⁷³ Thus, for the Anglican Church, Scripture has always played a significant role in theological discourse and liturgical practice.

4.2.2 Liturgical

Liturgy is primarily the structured means for communication between God and God's people. It is also the response of the people to God. The term 'liturgy' refers to the patterns, forms, words and actions through which public worship or corporate worship is conducted. The liturgy of Eucharistic worship refers to the act of worship of the assembled people of God, of which the liturgy of the Eucharist forms the centre. It also includes the liturgy of the Word with the reading of the Scriptures and the proclamation

⁷² I had the opportunity to serve as one of the proof-readers/reviewers.

⁷³ Lambeth Conference 1958.

of the Gospel as well as intercessory prayers, the confession of faith, and the praise of the Lord.⁷⁴ The beginnings of Christian liturgical worship go back to the second, if not the first century.⁷⁵ Anglicanism is a liturgical faith. Where there is Anglicanism, there too is liturgy.⁷⁶

The whole structure of the BCP abounds with affirmations that we are God's servant people. The opening prayers are derived from the prophets, Psalms and New Testament. The text in Anglican liturgical worship is intended to be inclusive and comprehensive. The primary text is the BCP, seen as the focus for unity in the church until the Lambeth Conference of 1948. The format of the Anglican liturgical text is a book and the Anglican liturgy is not the property of only the clerical orders but also of the whole church.⁷⁷ Liturgy is the meeting point of theology and practice, as is expressed in the ancient phrase *lex orandi, lex credendi* referring to the law of praying, the law of believing. There is a two-way process at work in liturgy. Informed by doctrine as the truth is expressed, the doctrine is also informed by worship of the living God as God's people.⁷⁸ However, Harrison and Sansom state that 'liturgy' as derived by St. Paul refers to the whole priestly service of the Gospel (by which he means the whole missionary service), not simply to what happens when Christians meet for prayer. Based on this understanding, it is clear that whatever believers do, dedicated to God and undertaken in God's name, is worship. Our worship is service because it is in our worship that we acknowledge ourselves to be God's servants, and offer ourselves in adoration and praise.⁷⁹

Christians are formed by the liturgy. The way we conceive of God, the way we understand the nature of Christian community and the manner in which we engage the world are all shaped by our common liturgical life. Consequently, how we experience and proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ is formed by our liturgical life. As Anglicans, our liturgy has had a particular formative effect on our identity as a communion.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Brown 1965: 3-4.

⁷⁵ Hill 1937: 100.

⁷⁶ Day, 'Liturgical Anglicanism: Contemporary Worship in a Historical Context' in Yates 2008: 125-141.

⁷⁷ Jasper 1989: 136.

⁷⁸ Headley 1997: 18.

⁷⁹ Harrison & Sansom 1982: 3.

⁸⁰ Holeton 1990: 1.

Anglican identity is expressed and formed through the liturgical tradition of corporate worship and private prayer. Specifically, the Anglican tradition is located within the broad and largely Western stream of Christian liturgical development and also influenced by Eastern liturgical forms.⁸¹

Anglican worship draws upon scriptural precedents such as found in the Psalms and Christological songs (Philippians 2). Anglicans learn theology through the prayers found in the Prayer Books such as the Lord's Prayer, daily prayers, the prayer of confession and absolution, Eucharistic prayers and so on. The liturgy fosters corporate participation with hymns and songs. The fixed liturgical form, linked with doctrine, is one of the great strengths of liturgical worship. It safeguards the doctrine by incorporating it into the worshipping heart of the church. Worship is safeguarded by its agreed doctrinal basis, thus nurturing worshippers in their faith.⁸²

As with the Roman Catholic Church, Anglican liturgical worship deliberately engages each and all of the five senses and employs them to bring the whole person into the presence of God. By stimulating the senses, worshippers are able to worship God with the mind and spirit and experience the presence of God. As a corporate activity, liturgical worship is active and participatory, reflective (pensive) and directed towards God. Liturgical services are celebrations of the church, which is the 'Sacrament of unity', namely, the holy people united and ordered under their bishops. Therefore, liturgical services pertain to the whole body of the church; they manifest it and affect it.⁸³ Anglican worship is rooted in God's work of creation, the incarnation and redemption that need to be embodied and enacted in ways that engage the whole person. Thus, we honour the goodness of creation, pray for its healing, and come to delight in splendour as we celebrate both the beauty of holiness and the holiness of beauty.⁸⁴

Anglican liturgical worship is therefore the 'work' (liturgy) of the congregation, inclusive, participatory and communal. It is what Anglicans do and have 'in common'. In worship, worshippers are drawn into a living relationship with the Triune God in

⁸¹ Prague 2005: 46.

⁸² Headley 1997: 18.

⁸³ Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Vatican Council 1963: 27.

⁸⁴ Avis 2007: 48.

patterns of prayer that are in themselves Trinitarian in form and content, and invite them to enter more deeply into God's life and love as those who are called to be 'partakers of the divine nature' (2 Peter 3:4). In approaching God in adoration and thanksgiving, penitence and prayer, Anglicans recognise that liturgical celebration is both their corporate action, work, words and ritual gestures, and also an occasion when God, through the Holy Spirit, is active and at work creating and re-creating their lives.

4.2.3 Sacramental

Anglican worship celebrates the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist,⁸⁵ the heart of Christian liturgy. Both sacraments are concerned with the passion of Christ. In his death and resurrection, we die to the old way of life and are raised to a new life.⁸⁶

Article XXV states:

Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's [sic] profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's will toward us, by which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

Christian worship, as a participation in Christ's own self-offering, is an act formative of Christian community. It is conducted within the context of the whole church, which represents the one, Catholic Church.⁸⁷ Sacramental worship was perfected in Christ (Hebrews 10:5-9). His whole life was an act of worship. In liturgy we seek that healing grace which flows from the cross of Christ. As we commemorate Christ's saving death and resurrection in the celebration of the Eucharist, we are again made one in him and strengthened to witness to his reconciling love in our broken world.⁸⁸ True worship means worshipping God 'in Christ' (2 Corinthians 5:17). In sacramental worship, we offer our obedience, devotion and love to God through Christ. Through union with Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit, we identify as worshippers with the perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ. For this reason, the Eucharist or Holy Communion⁸⁹ is seen as the perfect form of worship and liturgy.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ 'Eucharist' means thanksgiving – for the redemption of God in Christ's death and resurrection.

⁸⁶ Harrison and Sansom 1982: 5.

⁸⁷ Brown 1965: 15.

⁸⁸ Avis 2007: 48.

⁸⁹ Holy Communion reminds us that our life depends upon Christ and that we feed upon him, sharing in his life and the Lord's Supper reminds us of the origin of the service in the Upper Room – a symbolic meal.

⁹⁰ In Eastern Christendom, the Eucharist is simply known as the Liturgy.

In the nineteenth century, the Oxford movement, Cambridge Camden Society and ecclesiologists were concerned that some elements of the Christian faith were being inadequately expressed liturgically since most of the contents of the BCP were in the form of exhortations. They argued that there was a need to restore the sense of the importance of the Eucharist and the symbolism and liturgy that expressed a high sacramental theology.⁹¹

4.2.4 Communal

The purpose of common prayer is to enable people to be together, to participate actively in the actions, which represent their faith, belong to them. Cranmer desired to make the public services of the Anglican Church more understandable corporately by introducing the English language. This included ordered parts of the services to be said by the people. Today, churches in the AC experiment with a variety of ways of expressing worship of the church by translating the Prayer Book into different languages and attempting to make it culturally relevant to local contexts. This attempt has deepened the corporate spirit of Anglican worship services. The liturgical framework of the Anglican worship also provides a context of faith and spiritual formation that gives meaning and encouragement to the faith community as a whole. In Anglican liturgical worship, the worshippers are able to express their lives in terms of ritual acts that enable them to relate to each other in a community and to relate to others in society.

Encounter with the community of faith happens whenever people meet and engage the faith story narrated in the Scriptures and in their own daily experiences. Through the liturgy, the members of the community of faith both tell the story and participate in the story in word and deed. The ‘Story’ refers to the account, the reciting and rehearsing of the collective knowledge, memory and experience of the Christian community.⁹² In Anglican worship, church members meet with each other regularly especially for Sunday services as well as Morning Prayer, Evensong and on other church occasions. The community gathers to worship together. Thus, the liturgical worship of Anglican Church is central to the people’s lives as Christians.

⁹¹ Headley 1997: 18.

⁹² Headley 1997: 13.

4.2.5 Theological

Holeton states that ‘the Christian community assembled in prayer is engaged in “doing theology.”’ What, and how, they pray is a primary theological and liturgical catechesis. It provides the structure through which Christians come to know God for themselves, their community and the world in which they live. As such, the liturgy provides the basic resource to enable Christians to engage life in an integrated manner.⁹³ Similarly, according to Juan M.C. Oliver, worship expresses and imparts theological ideas. He asserts that liturgy is the form; theology is the content.⁹⁴ As a community of faith, Christians worship God, declare God’s attributes, confess their sins and acknowledge God’s saving grace⁹⁵ through God’s Son, Jesus Christ. Participating in the Eucharist is a commemoration of Jesus Christ’s death and resurrection and an anticipation of his coming again. Consistent with this view Avis asserts:

We invoke the Holy Spirit, seeking to be open to God’s future, and to orient ourselves to the fulfilling of God’s purposes. Recognising this essential eschatological dimension of Christian worship, we seek to attend to the various relationships that transcend both space and time: our sharing in the Communion of Saints, with our Anglican brothers and sisters around the globe, and with the whole *oikoumene*. Through our conversations and engagement with each other in the work of Christ we seek to realise more fully the unity that God has given us and to which Christ calls us.⁹⁶

Due to the time in which it was written, the BCP reflects a reformed theology. For instance, the Holy Communion service expresses that the body of Christ is only eaten by faith because it is not physically present. According to the rubric in the Holy Communion service:

For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their natural substance, and therefore may not be adored (for that would be idolatry, to be abhorred by all faithful Christians) and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ’s natural body to be at one time in more places than one.⁹⁷

Furthermore, the theology underlying the Anglican worship based on the BCP is the theological emphasis of the Reformation especially *justification by faith* as stated in Lambeth 1948 Article 11:

⁹³ Holeton 1988: 8.

⁹⁴ Meyers & Gibson 2010: 3.

⁹⁵ The Eucharistic liturgy 1552 embodies the Protestant Reformation’s emphasis on doctrine of justification by faith.

⁹⁶ Avis 2007: 49.

⁹⁷ See also Article 28 of the Thirty-Nine Article of Religion.

We are accounted righteous before God, only because of the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not because of our own works or because of what we deserve. So the doctrine that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and full of comfort, as is expressed more fully in the Homily of Justification.

The following quotation effectively summarised the characteristics of Anglican worship discussed above:

Religious experience is described in Scripture, defined in Creeds and in continuous theological study, mediated in the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and verified in the witness of saints in the *consensus fidelium* (consensus of agreement).⁹⁸

In the study in which I engaged, 70 individuals including priests,⁹⁹ first generation Christians, lay readers, elders, 60 young people¹⁰⁰ and various women groups coming from different parts of the Diocese of Sabah,¹⁰¹ members of fellowship groups and some individuals¹⁰² generally agreed that the key features of the Anglican worship discussed in chapter 6 are the strengths of the Anglican worship. However, they commented that it is often a struggle to follow the structured ‘orderly’ and ‘wordy’ liturgy that can become ‘dull’ or ‘lifeless’ unless they as they are ‘in tune with the Spirit’.¹⁰³ However, regardless of their education background and spoken languages, they believe the Holy Spirit has been empowering ‘to worship in Spirit and in truth.’¹⁰⁴ For instance, a former student of Epiphany Mission, Tongud states:

*Saya cadangkan agar kebaktian tidak terlalu terikat kepada liturgi. Aspek utama yang perlu ada ialah doa pembukaan, pujian dan penyembahan, khutbah, kesaksian, informasi gereja dan doa penutup.*¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ Report to Lambeth Conference 1948 entitled *The Meaning of Unity of the Anglican Communion* in Authority in the Anglican Communion, Sykes 1987. See also The Virginia Report 1997: The Anglican Way: Scripture, Tradition and Reason, prepared by the Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission as a response to Lambeth Conference 1988.

⁹⁹ The seven priests include a retired diocesan bishop, a former dean of All Saints Cathedral, an assistant diocesan bishop, a former diocesan priest who has migrated overseas, and three diocesan priests. The questionnaire was sent through the Diocesan Office to all clergy, church workers and evangelists in English and in the Malay language with the consent of Bishop Albert Vun in 2010, 2011 and 2012.

¹⁰⁰ Respondents to the questionnaire I posted via Facebook on 12 December 2011.

¹⁰¹ Women whom I ministered and had conversations with during the Diocesan Women Conference which was held in Epiphany Mission, Tongud in August 2009 and Women Seminar in St Thomas Mission, Sandakan in September 2010.

¹⁰² Church members whom I met and had conversation with during Sunday services and cell group meetings in Lahad Datu, Sandakan and Kota Kinabalu during my short field work in 2009 – 2012.

¹⁰³ The phrase ‘in tune with the spirit’ is an influence from the Pentecostal/Charismatic way of worship that stresses the presence and the empowering of the Holy Spirit.

¹⁰⁴ These are the common themes in the responses to the questionnaire – See Appendix.

¹⁰⁵ Translation: ‘I suggest that the worship is not too restricted by the liturgy. The essential elements are opening prayer, praise and worship, preaching of the Word, sharing of testimonies, announcement and closing prayer.’ Personal communication with Albert Lintikan on 23 April 2013.

Likewise, Rev. Robert Vun responded:

The Anglican liturgy is orderly, solemn, biblical and orderly. It is packed full of deep and meaningful theological truths written in the most beautifully crafted language. It has a logical flow and balanced with in terms of the different parts - offering the worshipper the depth and awe of worshipping God. It meets its intended purpose of common, standardized, biblical and simplicity in a most wonderful way. However, it was created in a specific time and context to meet a specific need. The world we live in today is so vastly different from that of when it was created. While the message it carries is still relevant, the mode of delivery has largely loss its impact and seems irrelevant to today's technological, postmodern, post-industrial, and multimedia world. The repetitive form of worship suited to the past centuries is not appreciated today as people seek diversity and newness in each worship service.¹⁰⁶

Jeanes observed:

The missionary church is the Anglican Church, which is rooted in Catholic, and English traditions, which in turn are rooted in ancient Jewish liturgies, and practices of the first believers. How far should those traditions be passed on to the church that is planted by the English church? The ancient liturgies have been passed down throughout Christendom. This is right and proper, and we should continue to pass them down, e.g. Nicene Creed from 325 AD. But as we do we can teach about the history of these traditions, i.e. Tell their stories. These ancient liturgies also bond us together as believers synchronically and diachronically, i.e. through out history, and across the world, as part of the universal and militant church. This should be taught in the church. Our model should always be Jesus himself who remained within the old Jewish religion (the vine) but at the same time taught us (the in grafted branches) something new (the Lord's Prayer). Also his good works should be the model of the way we are to behave in society.¹⁰⁷

In view of these responses, there is no doubt that Anglicans in Sabah acknowledge and appreciate the significance of the Prayer Book (liturgical worship) but also desire for the Prayer Book or 'liturgy' to be inculturated in order for it to be meaningful and nurturing.

5. ANGLICAN WORSHIP IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF SABAH

5.1 History

Sykes stated:

Anglicanism which spread across the globe on the back of imperial expansion, has often failed abysmally to respect the integrity of local cultures, and has attempted to import English or American ways of worship, dress, architecture, styles of leadership, and

¹⁰⁶ Personal communication on 9 January 2012. (Rev. Robert Vun is a former Anglican priest in Sabah but now is serving in Melbourne, Australia).

¹⁰⁷ Personal communication on 9 December 2011.

ecclesiastical titles – frequently with ludicrous results – as though Christianity and Western culture were synonymous.¹⁰⁸

This statement is true in most, if not all, the Anglican churches in the AC. In the Anglican Church of Sabah, the organisation, structure and worship are still, in many ways, similar to the Church of England.

As stated in chapter 4, the first missionary Bishop, Francis Thomas McDougall was commissioned to exercise power and all ecclesiastical functions pertaining to the Episcopal office, as recognised by the Order of the Church of England. During his episcopacy, however, he was engaged in translation and publication and translated considerable portions of the Prayer Book, including the Psalter into the Malay-Arabic characters. Later, he revised and rewrote it in the Roman characters and SPCK published it in 1857 in Singapore.¹⁰⁹

Apart from the Prayer Book, McDougall also translated a *Catechism of the Christian Religion* as early as 1850 for the use of the missions in the Anglican Church in Borneo in order to assist and guide the native teachers in catechising. The *Catechism*, published in 1868, was in Malay in Roman characters on one side and in English on the opposite page. William Henry Gomes, a Sinhalese from Bishop's College in Calcutta and Johann Ludwig Zehnder from Switzerland assisted the translation works. Gomes worked among the Dayaks in Sarawak from 1853 to 1868, and later in Singapore and the Southern part of the Malayan Peninsula in the period 1872-1892. He translated the Prayer Book into Chinese (Hokkien) and edited the Malay portions of the Prayer Book translated by McDougall. It consisted of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Communion Services. He also prepared an enlarged Malay edition of the Liturgy in 1882 in Singapore that was later reprinted in 1893 and entitled, *The Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites of the Church*. Zehnder translated the Collects, Epistles and many of the Sunday Gospels into the Malay language and that were published in 1869. He had worked among the Dayaks in Sarawak from 1862 to 1897. Bishop George Frederick Hose and Zehnder translated another edition of the Prayer Book into the Malay language that included the Athanasian Creed, the Epistles and the Gospels, published by SPG Mission Press in 1895 in Kuching, Sarawak. The Anglican Church in Sabah used the same worship materials since it

¹⁰⁸ Sykes 1984: 52.

¹⁰⁹ Taylor 1983: 46.

was part of the Diocese of Labuan and Sarawak.

The worship services conducted both in Sarawak and Sabah were according to the translated Prayer Book and identical to Anglican Churches in England. The different services included Holy Communion, Sung Eucharist with full ceremonial, Matins (in Chinese), Evensong (in English) and weekday services such as Matins, Holy Communion, Saints Days, and school services in church during the school term time.¹¹⁰ By translating the worship materials, McDougall and the other missionaries attempted to assist new Christians to worship God in an Anglican way in the Malay language even though it was not actually their spoken language because they all came from different ethnic groups. The liturgical model based on the Prayer Book trained the new converts to worship as Anglicans in a foreign tongue even if it was not English.

Furthermore, although the Prayer Book was translated into the Malay language, both the missionaries and new indigenous Christians were not fluent in either reading or speaking the language. Due to their diverse languages and dialects, the Malay language became the medium of instruction in all the indigenous churches. It was also true that the language and ethnicity of the indigenous peoples of Sarawak and Sabah did not blend together well. This language barrier is one of the factors that caused the worship to lack meaning and relevance for the Kadazandusun. Commenting on their ministries with the Kadazandusun in St. Stephen Mission in Segama, Lahad Datu in the early 1960s, Jocelyn and John Swanston reflected:

A weakness could be that the Churchgoer knows the service by heart and can recite it without thinking about it. Out of its cultural and linguistic context it may not be appropriate which is one reason why unlike other churches in Sabah, we did not inflict it (order of worship in BCP) on the people up the Segama, especially when most of them had only just been converted. In certain settings, it should, but often is not, modified to suit the worshippers, especially young people.¹¹¹

Similarly, Jeanes, who served in Kinabatangan for many years, observed:

I've always struggled with the need of liturgy in the church for the following reasons. Church worship is the response of the people to God in expressing adoration, praise, thanksgiving, in public confession of sin, in intercession for need, and so on. I've always wanted for the church to be truly indigenous. Hence the decision on how to do with public worship is not something, which should be imposed, but something that should come out of the new converts themselves.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Report of the Archdeacon of North Borneo for 1931 (Labuan and Brunei and the State of North Borneo) in Borneo Mission Association Annual Report for 1931.

¹¹¹ Personal communication with Jocelyn and John Swanston on 14 November 2011.

¹¹² Personal communication on 9 December 2011.

The responses from the above pioneering missionaries imply the need for inculturation in worship especially using the vernacular. Likewise, the respondents in this research stated that it was indeed a struggle for them to grasp the Christian teachings and preaching during Sunday services as well as during the baptism and confirmation classes because the Malay language is a foreign language to them.¹¹³ Until today, the medium of instruction for worship among the indigenous people is still not in the vernacular.

Nowadays, we say that the liturgical model of worship needs to be implemented relevant to the cultural background and needs of the people. Theological presuppositions need to be made implicit in the pragmatic and pastoral aspect of worship. For worship to be a missionary event, which is strongly emphasised by the Anglican Church of Sabah, God as the centre of the liturgy can never be channelled through a culture or a language that is foreign to the Kadazandusun or other indigenous communities. In addition, the Eucharistic liturgy has to be made relevant by thinking theologically on the significance of the Eucharist and the elements and by considering any converging points in the religious rites of Kadazandusun discussed in chapter 3 that can inform them about the meaning of the Eucharist. For instance, reflecting theologically and culturally the concept and implications of sacrifice or *sogit* for the Kadazandusun. Moreover, it is also important to be aware that the Eucharist is the context where the church educates, anoints and nourishes its members.¹¹⁴ Eucharist or 'Holy Communion is celebrated by the whole people of God gathered for worship.'¹¹⁵ It is therefore necessary for the Christian faith to accept a poetic and symbolic expression, which is indigenous to the culture and not distant to it in order for it to be truly integrated into the life of any people or civilisation.¹¹⁶ This is still lacking in the Anglican Church in Sabah.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Personal communication with first generation Christians in the Anglican Church in December 2012 – March 2013.

¹¹⁴ Bria 1996: 53.

¹¹⁵ Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England 2000: 158.

¹¹⁶ Power 1990: 31.

¹¹⁷ The common response from the respondents concerning the Eucharist *Perjamuan Kudus* (literally translated from the Malay language as *Holy Feast*): '*Kami ikut sahaja kerana Perjamuan Kudus berdasarkan Alkitab.*' Translation: We just follow since the *Holy Feast* is based on the Bible. Based on personal communication with different groups in August 2009 and September 2010 and different individuals in December 2012.

5.2 Practices

To be a church is to be a worshipping community and all worship takes place within particular cultural contexts. Worship expressed in a particular community's cultural thought forms should express their own worship in their own unique cultural settings and language.¹¹⁸ According to Evelyn Underhill, the character of worship is always determined by the way the worshippers conceptualise God and their relationship with God. Whatever its ritual expression may be worship always has a theological basis. Christian worship is, therefore, conditioned by Christian belief, especially belief about the nature and action of God, as summed up in the dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation.¹¹⁹ Since worship is crucial to knowing and relating to God, both as an individual and a community, it is essential to understand the religious or spiritual background of the Kadazandusun in order to understand their concept of God. This affects the way they relate to God in worship.

During the pioneering years of the Anglican mission, missionaries assisted by students in the mission schools prepared a simple prayer book for Sunday services. For instance, as Swanston stated:

I wrote a simple order of service. It contained the elements of praise and worship, thanksgiving, intercession and personal prayers and these were accompanied by addresses on a great range of topics related to belief and practice of the Christian faith. We had to count on their great capacity to memorize because most of them were illiterate. The schoolboys were a great help and without them it would have been impossible to function as we did. I knew that one day, they would have to be integrated into the Anglican Church so the simple order of service would at least get them a little prepared for it.¹²⁰

The official version of the Prayer Book for the Malay-speaking congregations, *Buku Peraturan Sembahyang Umum* (Order of Service for Public Worship) was launched by Bishop Luke Chhoa 'to cater for churches that had no regular visit from a priest, and the need to provide a balanced liturgy.'¹²¹ Jeanes assisted by Chua Chung Leng translated it and included the order of service for Public worship, Holy Communion, Family worship,¹²² and house blessing as well as a lectionary, the collects,

¹¹⁸ Insights based on my personal interview with Jocelyn and John Swanston in London Victoria on 28 October 2012.

¹¹⁹ Underhill 1937: 60.

¹²⁰ Personal communication on 1 May 2009.

¹²¹ Personal communication with Sylvia Jeanes on 16 September 2013.

¹²² This was translated from Bishop Luke Chhoa's book on family worship.

Bible verses to be memorised,¹²³ Psalms 100 and 150, and choruses and hymns.¹²⁴ According to Jeanes, it was based on the existing order of service in the Malay language translated earlier by one of the missionary priests from Sarawak that was used in the late 1960s.¹²⁵ There was also a translated version of the Holy Communion service in *Mangkaak* and in *Sungai/Makiang* in the 1960s. The Malay Prayer Book was revised in 1988 and in 2008.

In the Preface of the Prayer Book, Chhoa stated that the proclamation of the Gospel is a spiritual warfare. He was referring to the metaphor ‘spiritual warfare’ in Ephesians 6:10. He added that the Prayer Book was a ‘weapon’ for the followers of Christ in their journey of faith. He concluded by giving an assurance that Jesus Christ would grant his power to fight well in the advancement of God’s Kingdom. His statement¹²⁶ indicated that he acknowledged the religious background of the Kadazandusun who formerly lived in fear of different malevolent spirits. He and his successors stressed that worship and mission go together. In the context of the Kadazandusun, mission means proclaiming the Gospel and the way for liberating them from the power of evil spirits and darkness.¹²⁷ The rhythm of worship, the gathering of the people and being ‘sent out’, reflect the mission of God. It is God’s engagement with the world and the claims of God’s Kingdom of justice, righteousness and peace. Thus, worship and mission are inseparable.¹²⁸

Until the 1980s, Malay-speaking congregations were mostly in the rural areas and did not have resident priests except in Holy Cross Mission, Kuala Sapi in Labuk and Epiphany Mission, Tongud in Kinabatangan area. The non-resident priest mission stations only had Holy Communion service once a month, or once in three or six months depending on the locality because of the shortage of priests. Priests in the rural

¹²³ Indonesian Bible 1974.

¹²⁴ The choruses were in Indonesia version and the hymns were copied from *Nyanyian Kemenangan Iman*, Kalam Hidup, Indonesia.

¹²⁵ Personal communication on 16 September 2013.

¹²⁶ See Appendix v: Prayer Book in Kadazandusun Labuk and Malay language versions.

¹²⁷ For the indigenous peoples in Sabah, including the Kadazandusun, the liberating power of the gospel from the evil spirits and the power of darkness as discussed in chapter three is the main attraction to Christianity. Personal communication with different individuals and groups in August 2009, September 2010 and 2011.

¹²⁸ Avis 2007: 49.

areas were responsible pastorally for sixteen to thirty congregations scattered in villages along the rivers, in the jungle and palm oil plantations. In spite of the absence of resident priests, it is a common practice in the Anglican Church of Sabah to organise small group gatherings such as Bible study groups, and different age-group programmes for children, youth, women and men. Such programmes are great value to complement the worship services, and to discuss the implications and applications of the teaching to their lives. Today, some churches implement the cell system whereby every member of a congregation is encouraged to belong to a fellowship group that meets weekly. Its purpose is for evangelism, discipleship, pastoral care and mission. Besides, the ALPHA¹²⁹ programme has been implemented both in urban and rural churches with the intention of evangelism.

To cater for the needs of the Malay-speaking congregations, short-term evangelist training was held annually for students who had completed their Malaysian Certificate of Education (equivalent to O level) and Higher Certificate of Education (equivalent to A level) in the late 1970s. The main purpose of this training programme was to recruit young people to the church ministry. Upon the completion of their training, they were sent to minister in different congregations in the remote villages. A lay-reader's training programme was also implemented in the 1980s. Both the lay-readers and young evangelists were commissioned by the diocesan bishop to assist in leading worship services including funeral services, preaching, conducting fellowship meetings as well as performing pastoral care such as home and hospital visitations, praying for the sick and exorcised demons or *perang rohani* (spiritual warfare). They also conducted baptism and confirmation classes but were not allowed to baptise nor conduct the Eucharist because they are not ordained. As in other parts of the AC, the Anglican Church of Sabah practices infant baptism followed by confirmation at the age of 12 to 14. Only confirmed members are allowed to participate in the Holy Communion.

Examining the development of the Malay-speaking congregations in the past fifty-five years (1958-2013), it is evident that Anglican worship has been implemented effectively using the Prayer Book. Despite the language barrier and shortage of priests, the church took initiatives to translate the Prayer Book into the Malay language to enable the congregations to worship in an Anglican way and to train young evangelists

¹²⁹ The ALPHA course was started by Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Brompton in London in 1977. It is a ten-week course and its objective is to introduce the basics of the Christian faith.

and lay readers to lead worship and perform other ministries according to the Anglican tradition and structure. Worship according to the structures and form or variant of the BCP has become part of the identity of the Anglican Church in Sabah. There is, therefore, a need for the church to assess its worship in order to release the Malay-speaking congregations to worship in contextually appropriate ways and to embrace Christianity within their own contexts.

5.3 Similarities and differences to English Anglicanism

In the beginning of the Anglican mission in Borneo, it was very closely associated with the Church of England. Its worship was very traditional or ‘High Mass’ due to the influence of the SPG missionaries who came from an Anglo-Catholic background. One of the contributing factors to this Englishness in worship was that amendments and modifications of the forms of service in the BCP were not permitted until the mid-twentieth century. Consequently, some provinces of the AC began gradually to shed their ‘colonial’ origins and inculturate their worship. The monolithic status rendered to the Prayer Book (English hymn books and Gothic architecture) has also begun to diminish. Now, in addition to the BCP in the Church of England there is the Alternative Service Book 1980 (ASB), the Book of Common Worship (2000), and other worship service books based on the BCP or ASB in various provinces.

Chapman argues that it is unrealistic to assume that there can be only one Eucharistic prayer or only one form of the Daily Office, or any of the Pastoral Offices that could be adequate for all time and every context in the world where the Anglican Church is taking root. There can be many authentic liturgical expressions of the one Gospel.¹³⁰ Similarly, there is significant freedom and diversity within the bounds of scripture, reason and tradition in Anglicanism. This has led to considerable variation in doctrine and practice between Anglican churches in different provinces. This diversity has sometimes caused tension concerning issues of the authority and comprehensiveness of the AC. It is a shared history but not necessarily a common memory of Anglican churches across the AC.¹³¹ Hannaford claimed:

Common Prayer exists in the Church of England in the sense of recognising, as one does when visiting other members of the same family, some common features, some shared

¹³⁰ Chapman 2006: 6

¹³¹ Irvine 2008: 7.

experiences, language, patterns or traditions. To accept a variety of forms, dictated by local culture, is part of our Anglican heritage, spelt out by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer in his 1549 Preface: it often chanceth diversely in diverse countries.¹³²

In view of the changes in the AC as a result of the recognition of the diversity of culture and context, one of the major issues discussed during that the Lambeth Conference 1988 was related to liturgy and culture. 518 Bishops, representing 27 independent Provinces across the globe, attended the conference. They acknowledged the diversity of the AC as stated in resolution 22 and 47 below:

22. CHRIST AND CULTURE

This Conference (a) recognises that culture is the context in which people find their identity; (b) affirms that the gospel judges every culture ... challenging some aspects of the culture while endorsing others for the benefit of the Church and the society; (c) urges the church everywhere to work at expressing the unchanging gospel of Christ in words, actions, names, customs, liturgies which communicate relevantly in each society.

47. LITURGICAL FREEDOM

This Conference resolves that each Province should be free, subject to essential Universal Anglican norms of worship, and to a valuing of traditional liturgical materials to seek that expression of worship that is appropriate to Christians in their cultural context.

The resolutions signify the relationship needed between the Gospel and culture or the Church and society. The liturgy of the church must be drawn from the past and preserve the best of the tradition. The liturgy must also give authentic expression to the common life in Christ:

In whatever generation and in whatever country and culture, the Church has to worship incarnationally, separated from the world by the offence of the cross, but not by any alien character of the culture. We affirm expressions of true local creativity... we commend and encourage authentic local inculturation of the liturgy, and fear that... we have been all too hesitant...¹³³

Thus, the liturgy and mission of the church are inseparable and closely related to culture. In the past, the missionaries saw the mission of the church as needing to convert people to Christianity and to worship as Anglicans. They were unable to realise that for the indigenous people to know God and to experience God in their daily life and events, their religio-cultural beliefs and practices have to be recognised. As a result the indigenous people thought they had 'to worship in English.' They did not know that 'God spoke in our respective languages and dialects.' They were also not aware that

¹³² Hannaford 1998: 258.

¹³³ Lambeth Conference 1988: 67.

‘singing Christian songs without books and in our own mother tongues with local tunes were acceptable by God as a form of worship.’¹³⁴ In this way, the Prayer Book and the Anglican way of worship can be made relevant and meaningful.

Today, the Anglican Communion worldwide is undeniably diverse and rich in its cultures and expressions. It has become multiracial and multicultural. McGrath claims, ‘The dominance of Western Anglicanism, and more specifically English Anglicanism, probably ended around 1980.’¹³⁵ In view of the diversity of culture represented by the various dioceses and provinces in the AC, the expression of worship has been enriched and wide-ranging. It is one of the urgent tasks of the Church to discover and to create or to reform different approaches to worship and to make them relevant and meaningful to any particular cultures and contexts. It is vital to find intelligible language to proclaim biblical revelation. Language is required for the acts of God in Christ to be meaningful and pertinent, not only to the needs of individuals, but also to each community and humanity as a whole. By offering reinterpretation and re-presentation of the once-for-all events, the core of liturgy, in a form understood by the people. Brown suggests that it is essential to have some kind of demythologisation and remythologisation for evangelism today, and for relevant liturgy.¹³⁶ He adds that the central core of liturgy, the Gospel of God and the people’s response, does not change but the forms of its expression need constant reformation and revision in order to communicate the Gospel without hindering or obscuring it.¹³⁷ Thus, the encounter between the cultural perception and the newness of the Gospel is particularly important for worship that informs and embraces life.

Worship is the core to any belief or religious practice, including the religious practice of the Kadazandusun. The form of worship should express the identity of the worshipping community. Christians, including Anglicans, claim that their identity is in Christ, redeemed by God’s grace through Christ’s sacrificial death and resurrection. The liturgy needs to facilitate worshippers to embrace such Christian identity through worship that makes sense in each cultural context.

¹³⁴ These were the common themes in the responses from the various women groups during our conversations on 24 – 27 August 2009 and fellowship groups during my field work in 2009 – 2012.

¹³⁵ McGrath 1993: 22.

¹³⁶ Brown 1965: 7

¹³⁷ Brown 1965: 17.

The traditional concept and purpose of worship for the Kadazandusun is to give reverence to God through appeasing the spirits in order to maintain order, balance and harmony in the community. The Gospel invites them to know God and to enjoy and experience the presence of God. Traditionally, God as the Creator and Supreme Being exists but is distant from their daily lives unlike the numerous spirits that exist everywhere. The traditional concept of God and expression of worship allows their traditional religion to be classified as monotheistic. They believed in a Supreme Being or animism based on their religious practices dominated by spirits. Furthermore, they do not have specific places or buildings for worship. Worship was not a gathering of the people of God. In a religious event, a priest or priestess communicated with the spirits on behalf of the people whenever *sogit* or other religious rituals such as healing and the like were performed. In such worship, only the priests or priestesses conduct the rituals.

According to some members of the Anglican Church, it was strange for them to understand the concept and practice of attending church services on Sunday and the daily offices that reflect the church's liturgical year and response to daily events.¹³⁸ Moreover, they were challenged intellectually and asked to recite the liturgy with peculiar words and phrases; to sing unfamiliar hymns and songs; to listen attentively to Bible readings and homilies (SPG missionaries) or long expository sermons (CMS missionaries). Praying, giving offerings, and participating in the Holy Communion were foreign to them during the early years of the Anglican mission. It was also compulsory for them to go through the baptism and confirmation classes in order to become Christians and to be accepted as members of the Anglican Church.¹³⁹ Jocelyn Swanston (Thomas), one of the pioneering missionaries in St. Stephen's Mission in Segama stated:

When people decided to become Christians they were counselled to see that they really know what they were talking about and the Elders kept a keen pastoral eye on them to see that they stood firm and did not fall back into animistic habits. There were some wonderful

¹³⁸ Personal communication with individuals who became Christians in the late 1950s and early 1960s in August 2009, September 2010 and December 2012.

¹³⁹ Based on my conversations with early converts in Segama, they faithfully participated in the worship services in spite of their lack of understanding because they were convinced of the existence and protection of God from the malevolent spirits. Moreover, they also recognized the sacrifice and commitment of the missionaries who left their countries and families for the sake of presenting the gospel and sharing the love of God. In fact, the indigenous peoples of Sabah were amazed that for the sake of the gospel the foreign missionaries were willing to come and live among people in the remote areas of Sabah. Personal communication during my field work in 2009 – 2012.

testimonies of how God called some people to be Christians. Some were converted because of dreams and visions.¹⁴⁰

In the Kadazandusun's traditional religious beliefs and practices, they distinguish the significant roles and functions of priests or priestesses (*bobohizan*). However, their perception of priesthood is different from the Anglican Church. In their religious rituals, priestesses, priests and ritualists are considered as mediators between the people and the spirits. Moreover, as discussed in chapters 3 and 5, the Kadazandusun recognised women as religious or spiritual leaders in the community. There was no gender discrimination. In Anglicanism, the different and colourful ceremonial robes, the various ranks or titles of clergy, such as bishop, archdeacon, canon, reverend and deacon, were and still are quite confusing to the Kadazandusun. It remains the practice of Anglicans in Sabah to address the clergy by their titles. As a result, the concept of 'priesthood of all believers' is very puzzling even with the involvement of lay people in church ministries, particularly in non-resident priest congregations.¹⁴¹

In examining the similarities and differences between Anglican worship in Sabah and English Anglicanism, we are confronted with not only cultural, but also theological issues related to the Kadazandusun's traditional worship expression. Thus, translating the Anglican Prayer Book into the Malay language (or into Chinese or other languages) is not sufficient to inform the people of the richness of the Christian message through the Anglican tradition. Translation into the Malay language or the vernacular is not a full theological basis for worshipping God in a meaningful way. The Anglican Church of Sabah needs to ask one fundamental question: If the worshipping community is barely literate, as in the rural parts of Sabah, does the church still use a literary form or a written liturgy? Another aspect that needs to be considered is the theological standpoints within the church. These include the Anglo-Catholics, the Evangelicals and the Charismatics, each with their own emphasis, who certainly influences translation and vocabulary and the use or neglect of liturgy.

¹⁴⁰ Jocelyn Swanston's response to my questionnaire based on her diaries written 45 years ago via e-mail dated 3 November 2012.

¹⁴¹ In the early years of the Anglican Church (St Stephen mission) in Segama, the local people perceive the visiting priests with their colourful ceremonial robes as the ritual healers who performed the *berjin* (a kind of healing ceremony in the Segama area). Until today, many Anglicans are still curious to know the meaning of the different titles of clergy and perceive it as ranks or positions despite the fact that according to the Anglican tradition, priesthood is a sacred vocation.

6. CONCLUSION

Anglican worship must be examined beyond the BCP, ASB or the Book of Common Worship and other Prayer Books used in the AC. The Anglican Church of Sabah needs to take the challenge of implementing liturgical inculturation by examining not only Anglican worship based on Anglican tradition, but also Kadazandusun's concept and purposes of worship as reflected in their religious rituals and ceremonies in order to intentionally integrate expressions of the local culture. Anglican liturgical worship in Sabah will not only reflect the five essential characteristics of Anglican worship, doctrines and tradition of the AC as discussed in this chapter, but also certain cultural elements of the Kadazandusun that are not contrary to Scriptures. The encounter and integration of the two distinct worship expressions will both enrich the Anglican worship and the spirituality of the Kadazandusun. As stated by Power, 'True liturgical renewal cannot take place in a church where the Gospel is not addressed to the historical reality and present powerlessness of a people.'¹⁴² To be Christian means to mature in one's context, history and culture.

For many years, the Anglican worship in Sabah has been formed by a liturgical experience in which the indigenous peoples must move, dress, act, sound, and sing according to the tradition and cultural expressions of the Church of England, which can be considered as liturgical deformation. It is therefore appropriate for the Anglican Diocese of Sabah to reflect both theologically and culturally and assess its liturgical worship. To inculturate its worship, it is necessary for the church to examine not only its Anglican historical roots, but also its present time, local context and distinctive culture.

¹⁴² Power 1990: 64.

CHAPTER 8

ANGLICAN WORSHIP AND KADAZANDUSUN SPIRITUALITY: A CRITIQUE OF THE ENCOUNTER

1. INTRODUCTION

John D. Witvliet claims, ‘Worship is a central Christian practice, no matter what tradition or country we are in.’¹ Thus, worship is an essential part of the ecclesial life of the Anglican Church in Sabah since its inception. As noted above, when Anglicanism was first established in Sarawak and later in Sabah, Sunday services were conducted based on the Book of Common Prayer (BCP). The BCP was used both in towns and in mission stations located in remote villages scattered along rivers² and in the jungles.³ Accordingly, Christian doctrines and practices were introduced through Anglican worship, specifically during Sunday services. It was the appropriate time for people to gather together, especially church members living in the remote villages located far from the Anglican mission stations. This resonates with Paul H. Jones’ argument about the significance of corporate worship:

For the Church, corporate worship is the most visible and profound occasion for individuals to encounter both the gospel and the understanding of what it means to be a Christian world. When the community of faith assembles, the normative texts are read and interpreted, the formative rites are celebrated, and the faithful are equipped for service in the world. Inasmuch as the Church is anchored in the gracious acts of God, corporate worship sustains and transmits Christian identity formation.⁴

Two practices became common among the Kadazandusun since they were affiliated to Christianity in the Anglican Church – attendance at Sunday worship services and participation in Bible study groups. Worship is conducted during a range of family and community events, such as home visitations, any form of gatherings or ceremonies,⁵ and

¹ Witvliet in Farhadian 2007: xvi.

² The rivers and their deltas in Sabah served as the major places where villages, towns and cities developed over the years and where culture has been nurtured by the local peoples.

³ The Anglican churches in the towns comprised of expatriates and Chinese, whereas churches in the villages were made up of the indigenous peoples.

⁴ Jones, ‘We are How We Worship: Corporate Worship as a Matrix for Christian Identity Formation’, *Worship* 69, 4 (July 1995): 347.

⁵ According to the indigenous peoples, including the Kadazandusun traditional beliefs, they are obliged to organise religious ceremonies. These included when an epidemic or a drought was over, someone in

outings like *manurug*⁶. Worship services are often called ‘*sembahyang*’, borrowed from the Malay language, meaning ‘to bow’ (*sembah*) as a sign of reverence. Prayer is very important for the new Christians due to their traditional religious background that stresses the existence of evil spirits everywhere. ‘*Sembahyang*’ was, therefore, understood and gladly accepted as a means to cast away the evil spirits and to acknowledge God’s presence and protection not only from the evil spirits but also from bad weather, bad omens or bad luck.⁷ In addition to the worship services, baptism and confirmation classes or catechism have always been an instrumental means for implementing Christian education and Christian formation in the Anglican Church. Christian doctrines and practices were imparted to new members to deepen their Christian spirituality – to equip them to become Christian witnesses among their families, in their own community and in the multicultural society of Malaysia.⁸

The church or community of faith, reflects Christian witness in the world specifically in Christian practice such as corporate worship. For that reason, church gatherings and services have always played a critical part in the life of the Anglican Church as a means for ecclesial renewal through mission, evangelism, discipleship, Christian education, and pastoral care.⁹ According to Juan M. C. Oliver’s statement in ‘Worship, Forming and Deforming,’ worship expresses and gives rise to theological ideas – liturgy is the form; theology is the content– and is a rhetorical means for the communication of religious insights.¹⁰ Coming from a non-literate background, the new

the family or community was healed from a persistent sickness, or on return from a long trip as a form of thanksgiving to the spirits for their benevolence and protection.

⁶ Traditionally *manurug* was a significant event for the Kadazandusun, particularly in the Segama area. During *manurug*, several families camped along the rivers to fish and men went to the forest to hunt wild animals. The fish and meat were either dried or salted and preserved in large jars called as *tinamba*. They normally camped for weeks. Before Christianity came, they used to call a priest or priestess to perform a special ceremony with the intention of casting away demons and evil spirits, believed to dwell in rivers and forest. However, since they became Christians such kind of ceremony has been replaced with Christian worship.

⁷ This is based on my informal interview with some first converts in Segama area during my fieldwork in 2009 - 2012.

⁸ Most probably, this is part of the traditioning process where each member of the Anglican Church goes through the baptism and confirmation classes. In the Anglican Church context, the priests teach the candidates to know and understand the common life of the church, beliefs and practices in order for them to become members of the community. See Chan 2000: 17 and Westerhoff III 2000.

⁹ In chapter 4, the three approaches of mission, evangelism and discipleship in the Anglican Church of Sabah during the pioneering stage were identified as Sunday services/home visitation, mission schools and mission clinics. Today the church continues emphasising the importance of evangelism and discipleship.

¹⁰ Oliver, J. M. C., ‘Worship, Forming and Deforming’ in Meyers & Gibson 2010: 3.

Christians in Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama relied on the Sunday liturgy to hear God's Word read from a simplified Prayer Book, Christian hymns, intercessory prayers and sermons. Neither the Bible nor the Prayer Book was available in the vernacular for them. Jocelyn and John Swanston, CMS missionary teachers in St Stephen's school in Segama area in the early 1960s stated:

The Sunday service was simple and informal and we used the new Christians' considerable skills to memorize songs and Bible verses. Their conversion to Christianity and their commitment to know God and to understand the Bible mainly through Sunday services can be interpreted as the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit and not merely as a cognitive acceptance of the Gospel as perceived by some anthropologists. In addition to the Sunday services, there were also Sunday school, bible teaching and discussion, evolving from "a simple book based on the Prayer Book."¹¹

The new Christians were committed to attend the Sunday services, prayer meetings and Bible teachings conducted during the visits of the missionaries in their homes in the various villages in spite of their lack of understanding of the teachings due to language and cultural barriers.¹² However, when they participated in the activities or events organised by the missionaries, they were convinced that God was good and real as a result of the 'kindness and concern of the missionaries' who provided medical care and education.¹³ Today, the Anglican Church of Sabah continues to emphasise attendance at Sunday services, Bible teachings and ecclesial practices related to worship.¹⁴ These are reflected in the diocesan events.¹⁵ Bishop Albert Vun wrote in the *Message from the Bishop of Sabah* in the Borneo Chronicle Autumn/Winter 2009:

It is a great joy to see churches growing, even though many of our congregations do not have a proper church building. Some worship in rented shop lots. Others in homes or community halls. We want to see all our members' regular in Sunday worship, active in doing evangelism and ministry and committed in their giving. Over the last few years, our average Sunday attendance collectively as a Diocese grows by over a thousand a year.¹⁶

¹¹ Based on my e-mail correspondence with Jocelyn Swanston on 3 November 2012. According to her, this information was recorded in a diary written 45 years ago).

¹² Home visitation was considered by many of the first generation Christians as one of the most effective approaches of evangelism, discipleship and pastoral care. Personal communication with different individuals and groups in December 2012 – March 2013.

¹³ Interview with Tutik Garuda and Jernih Karupong on 24 May 2009 in Lahad Datu and my conversations with different groups of women from Tongud, Pinangah, Minusoh, Kuala Sapi, Nangoh and Segama during the Anglican Diocesan Women's Conference in Epiphany Mission on 24 – 27 August 2009.

¹⁴ See Appendix Appendix VIII.

¹⁵ See the Anglican Diocese of Sabah's website: www.anglicansabah.org

¹⁶ See Borneo Chronicle Autumn/Winter 2009 vol. 50 no. 20: 4.

Retrospectively, the development of the Anglican mission in Sabah for the past 125 years (1888-2013), clearly shows how Anglican worship has become central to the church's identity. For many years, Sunday worship in the Anglican Church in Sabah was identified as 'traditional'¹⁷ because its liturgical service was based on the BCP.¹⁸ As a consequence of the Anglican liturgical experience, Anglican members, particularly the older generation, are hesitant to attend Sunday services that do not use the liturgy because they are familiar with the structured order of service in the Prayer Book¹⁹ and not aware that there are different expressions of worship. Beginning in the late 1980s, the Anglican Church has been influenced by the Pentecostal and Charismatic movement and developed new forms of contemporary worship. Such worship attracts the younger generation who prefer a spontaneous and vibrant worship service. Subsequently, Sunday services in the Anglican Church now begin with a time of contemporary songs and music called '*Pujian dan Penyembahan*' (Praise and Worship). In some churches, contemporary Sunday services are conducted specifically for the youth. This contemporary worship is often associated with the renewal of the Holy Spirit. The common phrase used by the worship leaders is '*Roh Kudus ada di tengah-tengah kita sekarang. Marilah kita menyembah Dia dalam Roh dan kebenaran.*'²⁰ In response to my question concerning the contemporary worship, Bishop Yong Ping Chung stated, 'Our worship services are very Pentecostal and Charismatic, our people think it is the way of worshipping God.'²¹

2. ANGLICAN WORSHIP IN SABAH: A CRITICAL REFLECTION

2.1 The Need for Inculturation

Having examined the historical development of the Anglican Church in Sabah, specifically its worship, it is evident that for decades the members have willingly

¹⁷ In the context of Sabah, 'traditional worship' is understood as liturgical (structured order of service) and with hymns.

¹⁸ Liturgy refers to ordered prayer and the reading of Scripture, which is part of the church experience. Kaye 2008: 74.

¹⁹ In recent years, the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements have influenced the worship services in the Anglican Church, which in many ways caused apprehension among traditional Anglican worshippers.

²⁰ Translation: 'The Holy Spirit is in our midst right now. Let us worship in Spirit and truth'.

²¹ Personal interview with Bishop Yong Ping Chung on 18 February 2013 in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.

adopted the Anglican traditions of liturgical worship²² as the proper way of worshipping God without much questioning.²³ The Kadazandusun adopted the rituals, practices and cultural expressions of Anglicanism, imported from outside.²⁴ In so doing, the label ‘Anglican’ has become very important as a marker of identity. So much so that it is more common for Christians in the Diocese of Sabah to use Anglican as an identifier rather than Christian.²⁵ Anglican worship has in some ways facilitated the local church to worship God and nurtured their spirituality. Nevertheless, this form of worship has not assisted them to fully embrace Christianity in an indigenous and empowering way.²⁶ This is the heart of the problem. Patrick C. Chibuko claims that ‘Inculturation is a medium through which God communicates to humanity within a given context’ (theologico-anthropological relationship). He adds, ‘Understanding this concept will enable all to whom God communicates to apply the Gospel Message to their lives in order to live authentic Christian lives.’²⁷

Avis discusses the paradox of the lack of inculturation, or insensitivity to the receiving culture on the part of the missionaries. He asserts that ‘the theology of the Church of England in the nineteenth century provided a very positive rationale for inculturation.’²⁸ It is therefore important to assess the historical development of mission. In this way a broader and deeper understanding of Christianity, that includes the aspect of worship, expresses itself through the process of inculturation by theological reflection on local ecclesiology. As David Bosch stated, ‘The Christian faith never

²² The Anglican Liturgical Movement recognizes the limitations of the BCP and for that reason, the emphasis of the liturgical movement shifted from the reform of worship practices to the revision of the liturgical texts. Thus, in Lambeth Conference 1958, it was decided that the 1662 BCP was no longer the guiding standard for Anglican worship. See Meyers & Gibson 2010: xv-xvi.

²³ In my informal interviews and conversations with some Anglican members in different churches, it is a general consensus that Sunday worship is a very important part of their church life. As a result, although many of them, especially the youth enjoy the ‘praise and worship’, which is a phrase referring to a part during the Sunday services for contemporary music and songs, they still prefer it to be incorporated with the order of service – ‘liturgy’. For the older generation, the ‘liturgy’ has become a significant part in their public worship.

²⁴ See Kaye 2008: 74.

²⁵ Historically Christian faith and Western culture in the form of art, architecture, music and dance, lifestyles, attitudes or popular expressions of religiosity had almost become a symbiosis in the minds of the missionaries. See Nariculam 1992: 73.

²⁶ ‘Religion is the substance of culture; culture is the form of religion. 1959: 42. Cited in Schreier ‘Faith and Cultures: Challenges to a new World Church’, *Theological Studies* 50 1989: 744.

²⁷ Chibuko, ‘A Practical Approach to Liturgical Inculturation’, *AFER* 43 no. 1-2F, April 2001: 2-27.

²⁸ Avis 2007: 52.

exists except as translated into a culture.²⁹ Likewise, German Martinez claimed that, ‘inculturation is the expression of the experience of the prayer and faith of people in a particular culture.’ According to him, inculturation demands a critical integration of peoples’ symbolic thinking, profound values, common language and traditions into the liturgical life of the church. From this reciprocal exchange, the cultural enrichment of Christianity and the social Christianization of culture occurs. Expressed in the common experience of people, an inculturated liturgy becomes the core of an integrated experience of a biblical, historical, and communal spirituality. It animates and nourishes the daily life of individuals and the community.³⁰

Generally, worship takes place within particular cultural and historical contexts. This fact characterizes most of the Christian church’s ministry. Worship and liturgy as a universal form has most often taken precedence over creating understanding within a people’s language,³¹ symbolic imagery, and cultural patterns. Oliver claims that liturgical action engages the whole person, which includes thoughts, bodies, and attitudes and feelings. This indicates that worship forms the whole person through a mimetic process of behaving ‘as if’.³² Furthermore, he stated that worship is a response to God’s initiative. According to him, the tools, or important elements of worship, were ‘the symbolic actions of the people of God responding ritually to God’s summons to gather with the divine presence.’ He therefore asserts that the congregation has to use the tools for worship that are meaningful to them and are available in their own culture, time and place. In this way, the members of the congregation will not become ‘curators rather than crafts-people making worship from generation to generation.’³³

²⁹ Cited in Avis, 2007: 54. There are three fundamental aspects of human experience dealt by ethnographers: what people do, what people know and the things people make and use – i.e. cultural behaviour, cultural knowledge, and cultural artefacts. Thus, culture is the acquired knowledge used by people to interpret experience and general behaviour. See Spradley & McCurdy 2000: 3.

³⁰ Martinez, ‘Hispanic Culture and Worship: The Process of Inculturation’, U. S. Catholic Historian, Vol. 11, No. 2, Evangelization and Culture Spring, 1993: 82.

³¹ Wainwright states, ‘Language is not to be understood apart from the community which uses it and the activities and self-understanding of that community; liturgical language is the historical Church at worship – a Church which in every age believes itself to be the people of God in the world, with the duties of praise and witness laid upon it.’ See Wainwright, ‘The language of worship’ in Jones, Wainwright & Yarnold 1980: 465.

³² Oliver, ‘Worship, Forming and Deforming’, 2010: 7.

³³ Oliver 2010: 8-12.

Considering Oliver's claim that worship is as a response to God's initiative, it is essential to identify and to assess the symbolic actions of the indigenous peoples, especially the Kadazandusun as the people of God, in order for them to respond ritually to God's summons and consequently gather as a community in the presence of God. For instance, there is a need to understand the concept of God and purpose of worship for the Kadazandusun by investigating their traditional religious rituals such as the *Tadau Kaamatatan* (Harvest Festival), especially *Magavau* and healing ceremonies.³⁴ – Likewise, it is essential to examine the notion and implications of *sogit* or sacrifice discussed in chapter 3, in order to identify any converging point that can enrich their understanding of the Eucharist.³⁵ In doing so, inculturation can take place since both cultures intersect with one another.

According to the York Statement 'inculturation must affect the whole ethos of worship, buildings, furnishings, art, music, and ceremonial as well as texts':

True inculturation implies a willingness in worship to listen to culture, to incorporate what is good and to challenge what is alien to the truth of God. It has to make contact with the deep feelings of people. It can only be achieved through openness to innovation and experimentation and the encouragement of local creativity, and a readiness to reflect critically at each stage of the process. The liturgy, rightly constructed, forms the people of God, enabling and equipping them for their mission of evangelism and social justice in their culture and society.

Similarly, Oliver contended that:

The failure to incarnate or inculturate worship in the local time, place, and culture can turn formative worship into a deforming event, shaping a people who think they can be close to God while remaining far from the everyday world, or who expect the arrival of the Reign to be only an interior event, between the individual's heart and God.³⁶

According to Bevens, such failure is due to the 'subtle or not-so-subtle mentality of colonialism and the narrowness of theology and missionary vision in the past. Much of the richness of many local cultures has been ignored and suppressed.'³⁷ Historically, it is also evident that the High Church Movement or Oxford Movement³⁸ that began in 1833 opposed inculturation. This was due to its principles of 'defending its apostolic

³⁴ This is called 'Appreciative awareness'. See Jose M. de Mesa 1987: 30-32.

³⁵ It is appreciating appreciating the local culture and considering it as a theological source for doing theology in a particular context. See Bevens 2009: 25.

³⁶ Oliver 2010: 13.

³⁷ Bevens 2009: 25.

³⁸ The Oxford Movement was pioneered by ordained scholars of Oxford University in 1830s and often called 'Tractarians'. They were determined to preserve the Catholic teaching and practices and followers of this movement were called Anglo-Catholics.

heritage, required conformity to the tradition as it had received, and in effect attempted to transplant intact the Church of England to other shores.³⁹ This was contrary to the evangelical missions that ‘tended to be both more sympathetic to the aims of the establishment and more hospitable to indigenization.’⁴⁰ The SPG missionaries’ failure to implement the task of inculturation during the pioneering stage was due to lack of understanding of cross-cultural mission and it has to do with their theological background that was strongly associated with the Church of England. For that reason, inculturation was hindered and not much thought was given to the relationship between worship in the Anglican Church and culture of the indigenous peoples. Jeanes comments:

The imposition of all that is English keeps the church as foreign. It can never belong to the people unless it is contextualized. In my opinion the BM church sadly is still very foreign to the people. Not even introducing the sumazau or gongs makes it belong to the people, let alone girls in frilly white dresses with tinsel in their hair dancing with the tambourines! I’ve never liked the way we expect the converted to follow the English traditions and structure. Could not the receiving church, which has its own structure and organization be allowed to organize the church according to its own model.⁴¹

2.2 First Development

Anglican worship began in Borneo for English speakers, catered especially for the civil servants of the British North Borneo Company. Gradually it spread to other languages and cultures from the time of Francis Thomas McDougall (1855-1868) and was based on the BCP.⁴² The BCP was used during formal or public worship services. It was also used for evangelism and gospel ministry among the indigenous peoples in Sarawak and later in North Borneo (Sabah) in the period 1882–1942. Since 1928, the different Anglican dioceses in South East Asia developed their own liturgies according to the revised Scottish, English and American Prayer Books. However, the Diocese of Jesselton (North Borneo) was more conservative and preferred to follow the traditional BCP 1662 with minor changes.⁴³ James Wong, who originally came from Hong Kong, became the first Bishop of the Diocese of Jesselton in 1962. He favoured the 1928 Prayer Book for the Chinese-speaking churches. But the English-speaking churches

³⁹ Avis 2007: 53.

⁴⁰ Avis 2007: 53. Avis mentioned some of the theologians that were advocates of inculturation: such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Thomas Arnold, Frederick Denison Maurice, Bishop Colenso (Southern Africa), Henry Venn, Charles Gore and contributors to the Anglo-Catholic symposium *Lux Mundi* 1889, Roland Allen, William Temple, Hensley Henson and others.

⁴¹ Personal communication on 6 April 2013.

⁴² Boughton 2012: 16.

⁴³ Buchanan 1968: 264.

continued using the 1662 Prayer Book with 1928 Prayer Book variations due to the influence of a small number of evangelical priests and lay representatives in the Jesselton diocesan councils. Attempts were made to revise the Prayer Book. For example, All Saints Cathedral was given the opportunity to try various forms of Anglican services during the weekday celebration of the Holy Communion. It was an enriching experience for the congregation. These were liturgies used in South Africa, West Indies, Scotland and the Church of South India.⁴⁴ However, there was no attempt made to inculturate the Prayer Book due to lack of awareness in the importance of liturgical inculturation or more probably the Prayer Book was accepted as a 'given'.

Moses Chin, the Archdeacon⁴⁵ for the Eastern part of the Anglican Diocese of Sabah contended, 'It was the USPG which brought to Sabah the Bible, the Prayer Book and the Hymn Book. Evangelicalism came via the youth camps, Bible study groups and the new choruses. Much later was the charismatic movement.'⁴⁶ Jeanes, a former CMS missionary teacher in Kinabatangan for almost 20 years, involved in lay-training and theological education among indigenous peoples for more than 40 years stated, 'God's grace has been seen in the changes [worship] from Anglo-Catholic, to Evangelical, to Charismatic.'⁴⁷

The impact of the SPG and CMS in Sabah is also evident in its ecclesiastical structure. The architecture and vestments of the clergy reflect the external expressions of the Church of England and Anglican worship. Today, the Anglican Church in Sabah has become autonomous and indigenous in terms of its leadership. But many of the external ecclesiastical expressions remained unchanged in spite of the political, economic and social changes in Malaysia and the changes in other parts of the AC. For instance, although the diocese has become independent from SPG and CMS its ecclesiastical structure is still of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁴⁴ Boughton 2012: 80.

⁴⁵ In 2007, three archdeacons were installed in the Anglican Church of Sabah and they were assigned according to geographical locales: Melter Tais (Central), John Yeo (West) and Moses Chin (East). On 14 August 2009, Melter Tais was consecrated as an assistant bishop and followed by John Yeo on 14 August 2011.

⁴⁶ Boughton 2012: 250.

⁴⁷ Boughton 2012: 139.

In reality, the ecclesiastical structure in the Diocese of Sabah is still traditional and conservative, compared to other Anglican Churches in England, or other parts of the AC. It is very hierarchical and clergy (male)-oriented. There is little critical reflection on the local culture with a view to integrating it into the ecclesiastical structure of the church. The culture of the indigenous people is still considered ‘pagan’ and therefore not relevant.

Another practical example of the lack of inculturation is in the wearing of vestments. Although all the clergy are Malaysians, and the climate of Malaysia is hot and humid, the clergy continue to wear vestments inherited from the Church of England without regard for the climate. In the early 1960s, Kadazandusun in Segama were surprised that the colour of the vestments of the clergy were similar to the vestments worn by the traditional priests or ritualists during the *berjin* ceremony. This has created problems in the church. In response to my questionnaire in relation to this matter, Swanston stated:

Because of the use of the colour green red and white, and dressing up, we asked clergy who visited not to wear vestments, especially those using the special colours. This was to avoid confusion. Also, when the first clergy arrived with all his vestments, the people bowed to the floor thinking that he was some kind of god.⁴⁸

In fact, the Anglican clergy in Sabah are ‘more robed’ or more loyal to the inherited clerical vestments than some clergy in England and in other parts of the AC.⁴⁹ In the past decade, there has been a tendency for clergy, influenced by the Pentecostal and Charismatic movement, to replace the Anglican vestments with suits and ties. This is equally irrelevant and foreign and reflects the dress of many Protestant missionaries from the USA. In Malaysia, *batik* is regarded as the official costume. Normally, *batik* is worn during official ceremonies. Even if the Anglican Church would like to remain loyal to the clergy traditional vestments, the diocese should consider having *batik* stoles for the priests so as to reflect Malaysian culture or to have the stoles embroidered with indigenous patterns and even to have *batik* shirts with the clerical collar for less formal church events. This new phenomenon confuses traditional Anglican members who associate the clerical vestments with the clergy. This example illustrates the lack of awareness or understanding of culture that has denied the local congregations their own identity and local expressions.

⁴⁸ Personal communication on 28 October 2012.

The Anglican Church in Sabah, as well as the Province of Southeast Asia, needs to examine its ecclesiastical structure and external expressions in order for inculturation to take place. In so doing, the Anglican Church will find ways to express its indigenous and Malaysian or Southeast Asian characteristics and identity. This will show the multicultural Malaysian society that Christianity is not a Western religion but pertinent to every ethnic group in Malaysia. It is also important to acknowledge that inculturation is not merely a question of adapting certain external expressions, symbols or rites of a culture. The church needs to understand culture in depth so that it ‘becomes a principle that animates, directs, and unifies a culture, transforming and remaking it so as to bring about “a new creation.”’⁵⁰ Until today, there is still no dialogue between ‘the universal Gospel or fundamental “Good News” and the cultural uniqueness of each context in which the message is heard.’⁵¹ According to the York Statement:

Provinces should be ready both to treasure their received ways and also to reflect critically on them in the light of their own cultures. They should be wary lest sheer conservatism in liturgy, or an over-dependence upon uses from elsewhere, in fact become a vehicle of cultural alienation, making Anglican worship a specialist cult, rather than people’s liturgy.⁵²

Since independence, Malaysianization has been a very important agenda of the Federal Government of Malaysia. The nation is increasingly aware of its own identity.⁵³ Thus, the Malaysian government has emphasized different kinds of jobs and recognized women and their leadership roles in society. Women now play significant roles in the political, social and economic development of the country. Unfortunately, the Anglican Church of Sabah remains reluctant to discuss the issue of women’s leadership, specifically the ordination of women, irrespective of the fact that since the 1980s there are a substantial number of theologically trained indigenous women in the diocese.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Based on my own observation while studying in England.

⁵⁰ Pedro Arrupe, ‘Letter on Inculturation,’ 2. Cited in Starkloff, ‘Inculturation and Cultural Systems,’ *Theological Studies* 55 1994: 69.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² The York Statement, International Liturgical Consultation in <http://www.anglicancommunion>

⁵³ Khai Leong Ho, ‘Reinventing the Bureaucracy? Malaysia’s New Administrative Reform Initiatives,’ *The Journal of Comparative Asian Development* vol. 1, Issue 1, 2002.

⁵⁴ The Anglican Diocese of Sabah, which is part of the Province of Southeast Asia (created in February 1994) is opposed to women’s ordination. During the General Synod of the Diocese of Sabah in August 1997, the first archbishop of the Province, Moses Tay vehemently stated that it was unbiblical to ordain women. Furthermore, according to him, the issue of ordination of women is often associated with the issue of homosexuality, which has caused division in the Anglican Communion. Since then, the issue has been dismissed.

Furthermore, these women in full-time ministry are expected to abide by specific rules and regulations designed by the diocesan bishop and vocation committee, including remaining single⁵⁵ during theological training and in the first five years of ministry. Otherwise, women are obliged to resign and refund the cost of their theological education.⁵⁶ As non-ordained pastoral staff, women are placed in a different category and salary scale from the male priests regardless of their theological training and qualifications. Due to this conventional view of the church towards women and the diocesan patriarchal system, not many women are motivated to take up higher theological education or to remain in full-time ministry. The unsympathetic attitude towards women in leadership in the Anglican Church is in fact contradictory to the culture of the indigenous peoples. For the Anglican Church to grow fully in Sabah, the role of women must be reconsidered.

Historically, women formed the majority of those who performed priestly functions in communities of indigenous peoples in Sabah and were recognized as spiritual leaders and ritualists, the *bobolizans*. In other parts of the AC biblical texts have been studied and an effort made to take into account local cultural norms in relation to women's priestly function and leadership.⁵⁷ This needs to happen for the Anglican Province of Southeast Asia for the expansion of the mission of the church and to give equal opportunities to women. The Province needs to be freed from the patriarchal structures of the past.

For a church to be indigenous or relevant to its local culture, it is critical for the church not simply study the local cultures with the intention of 'purifying' the elements of the indigenous cultures. For instance, restricting the use of local musical instruments, songs and dances in worship. It is just as important to apply the 'Anthropological

⁵⁵ During Bishop Luke Chhoa's bishopric, women going for theological training were required to sign an agreement not to get married during the course of the theological training and five years after the completion of the training. For those who failed to fulfil such requirements were obliged to refund their theological expenditure or for those who decided to get married after fulfilling four years of theological training and five years of church ministry were required to resign from full-time ministry in the church.

⁵⁶ Due to such condition, many parents are not in favour of sending their daughters for higher theological training since it is not the practice of indigenous women to practice celibacy. Traditionally, it is a form of 'stigma' for women not to be married.

⁵⁷ The other dioceses such as the Diocese of Kuching, the Diocese of West Malaysia and the Diocese of Singapore in the Anglican Province of Southeast Asia have similar attitude as the Diocese of Sabah that ignore women in church leadership.

model'⁵⁸ and the 'Synthetic model'⁵⁹ in order to assess the local cultures for the purpose of exploring any converging and diverging instants of both cultures. In this way, there is interaction between Gospel and culture and when the Gospel is incarnated in a particular culture it radically purifies and renews that culture from within. Subsequently, the indigenous cultures can enrich the Gospel by providing new forms of expression and by questioning and exposing essential elements of faith that in reality are merely time-bound expressions.⁶⁰ This process of inculturation can be achieved by involving the local people in observations and personal interpretations based on their own understanding and perspectives as well as by mutual discourses between missionaries and local peoples. According to A. G. Hogg and Hendrik Kraemer respectively, 'the gospel presents a "challenging relevance" to the human situation,' and it 'offers to all peoples a "subversive fulfilment" to their human, cultural, and historical situations.'⁶¹ Thomas D'Sa, the former director for the National Biblical Liturgical Catechetical Centre, Bangalore stressed, 'the Gospel-Culture-Encounter should become a force that animates, re-shapes and profoundly renews that culture, so as to create new patterns of communion.' According to him, this kind of encounter can take place in the local community, which will give the community the opportunity to interpret the Good News in order to for it to be relevant to its life and experience in the present and respond to it creatively.

2.2.1 Translations of the Prayer Books

As stated in the previous chapter, the Prayer Book is significant to the Anglican Church of Sabah even though it is not translated into the vernacular, which is essential for inculturation.⁶² It provides an authoritative form for the expression in public and corporate worship and has become part of the identity of the Anglican Church. In

⁵⁸ Bevens 2009: 54-69.

⁵⁹ Bevens 2009: 88-102.

⁶⁰ Illickamury, 'Inculturation and Liturgy' in Nariculam 1992: 77-78.

⁶¹ Cited in Bevens 2009: 117. The quotations are from Alfred G. Hogg, 'The Christian Message to the Hindu: Being the Duff Missionary Lectures for Nineteen Forty Five on the Challenge of the Gospel in India' 1945: 9-26; and Kraemer, 'Continuity and Discontinuity,' in *The Authority of Faith: The Madras Series*, vol. 11939: 4.

⁶² It is a simplified version for the Malay-speaking congregations. Nonetheless, it still contains the main essential elements for worship service. Most probably, the main reason for not translating the whole Prayer Book was the shortage of good translators and the non-literate nature of the indigenous peoples.

addition to the Holy Communion Service Book, prayer booklets for services such as baptism, confirmation, wedding and ordination have been translated following the 1928 BCP. They incorporate the 1662 version reflecting Anglo-Catholic theology, doctrines and ritual practices. Furthermore, there are Orders of Service for house blessings, inductions and civil marriages, which generally express the Anglo-Catholic view. In spite of the evangelical shift in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah it did not affect the wording of liturgies of the various service books.

Since Lambeth 1958, liturgical experimentation and revisions have been introduced in different parts of the AC. According to *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, in the Asian region, only the Episcopal Church in the Philippines, the Anglican Church in Japan (Nippon Sei Ko Kai), the Anglican Church in China, the Anglican Church of Korea, the Province of Myanmar, the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East have the full translation of the BCP.⁶³ Nonetheless, the Prayer Book of the Diocese of Sabah has not been revised since 1964 during the time of James Wong, the first Bishop of the Diocese of Jesselton and his successor, Roland Koh. In 1974, Luke Chhoa, the third diocesan Bishop authorised it to be reprinted since the old booklets were worn out after being used for ten years but without any alteration. It was a simplified version of the BCP that was published for the English congregations and was later translated into Chinese and Malay for the Chinese-speaking and Malay-speaking congregations respectively.

In 1996, Gordon Boughton, a CMS missionary priest, who served in Sabah for some years, conducted a questionnaire survey with the clergy and members of the Anglican Church. It was to trace the developments in worship styles and liturgy in the Anglican Church since 1988. Based on the survey, it was discovered that there were close correlations between the history of the Anglican Church, the churchmanship of an era and the liturgy.⁶⁴ Examining the history of the church, the development of its liturgical worship and the findings of this survey, it is evident that for inculturated worship to emerge, it is crucial for the ‘churchmen’ or influential leaders of the church to be aware and convinced of the importance of inculturation in worship.

⁶³ Heffling & Shattuck 2006: 388-412.

⁶⁴ Boughton 2012: 199.

Griffiths asserted that the three main reasons for translating the Prayer Book were to meet the needs of linguistic minorities, to commend Anglican worship to other churches and for overseas mission.⁶⁵ But unfortunately, the Prayer book in Sabah is not translated using the dynamic equivalence method as proposed by Chupungco.⁶⁶ According to one of the diocesan lay pastors, the 2008 Prayer Book is basically a reprint of the 1975 Malay version of the Prayer Book. It is not revised nor inculturated.⁶⁷ It is therefore necessary for the Anglican Church in Sabah to consider revising the translation of the present version of the Prayer Book by applying the dynamic equivalence method. According to Kaye, 'Translating involves not just the transposition of words from one language to another, but, the transformation of the way in which ideas and meanings are expressed.'⁶⁸ One of the reasons why most youth and young adults are more attracted to contemporary worship is because they perceive the Prayer Book as 'traditional', 'out-dated', 'irrelevant', 'boring', and 'unconnecting'.⁶⁹ Despite its 'strong biblical foundation', 'profound words', 'uniting factor', 'order and balance', the young generation find the Prayer Book and liturgical worship 'lifeless', 'formal', 'rigid' and 'expressionless'.⁷⁰ Their responses reflect the weaknesses of the Prayer Book and liturgical worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah. Nonetheless, the responses also reflect the main characteristics of postmodern or global culture and youth in Sabah who are most at home in Western 'pop' culture.⁷¹ Considering the significance of youth⁷² as the next generation and future leaders of the church, it is critical that the Anglican Church of Sabah explore possibilities of not only revising but also inculturating the Prayer Book, including the related worship service booklets. Its purpose is for the Anglican worship to be relevant to the peoples' spirituality, contexts and needs.

⁶⁵ Griffiths 2002: 19.

⁶⁶ According to Chupungco, this method 'starts with the liturgical ordo' and it 'reexpresses the ordo in the living language, rites, and symbols of the local community.' See Chupungco, *Inculturation of Worship: Forty Years of Progress and Tradition* in www.valpo.edu/ils/assets/pdfs/chupungco1.pdf

⁶⁷ Personal communication with a diocesan lay pastor in the Anglican Church on 28 March 2013.

⁶⁸ Kaye, *An Introduction to World Anglicanism*, 2008: 77.

⁶⁹ These are the common themes in the responses from the youths to the question regarding the relevance of the Prayer book and liturgical worship.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ The dominant words expressed by the youths who responded to my posting in the Anglican Worldwide (Sabah, Malaysia) closed group account in Facebook on 31 December 2011 to 1 February 2012.

⁷² There is also a need to explore and assess the levels of relationship relevant to youth involvement in liturgical worship such as their level of faith or spiritual maturity in relation to their relationship with God; their attitude toward the Bible and teaching in the church; and their understanding and attitude to ecclesial life.

Furthermore, it is essential to continue assessing the relevance of a formal written liturgy in a culture without a literary or literate background. For instance, it is appropriate to reflect whether a written liturgy is applicable to indigenous culture? Is Anglican worship problematic because it is written rather than 'oral'? Is the 'free' spontaneous Charismatic worship actually closer to the heart of the indigenous people? What is the impact of a culture that is more visually oriented as a consequence of the new technology?

Malay is the national language and the *lingua franca* of Malaysia but the use of local languages for worship needs also be given a consideration for the older generation to be more acquainted and engaged in worship. The younger generation also need to be rooted in their cultural identity. The church needs to explore cultural connections between traditional Anglican liturgical worship and the culture of the indigenous peoples. Every church is obliged to inculturate its worship in its particular cultural context to respond to its needs. Such inculturation is required if people are to respond to God meaningfully and to be nurtured in their spirituality.

Griffith reported that portions of the BCP were translated and published by the Anglican Diocese of Sabah in 1969.⁷³ However, according to the Minutes of the Clergy Conference of the Diocese of Sabah on 2-4 January 1975, the Malay-speaking congregations did not begin to use a uniform simplified version of the BCP until 1975. Prior to that, the Malay-speaking congregations in Labuk, Kinabatangan and Segama had their own translated versions of the BCP, either in the local dialects or in the Malay language. For instance, in 1966, the diocesan Bishop, Roland Koh, suggested that the Malay-speaking congregations in Labuk and Kinabatangan used the same service book called *Buku Sembahyang Merah* or the Red Prayer Book, which was translated into Eastern Kadazandusun language. It was difficult for the various congregations, comprising different ethnic groups in Kinabatangan to follow because each village in that area has their own local dialect. Subsequently, Lawrence Lawin, a missionary Iban priest from Sarawak, translated it into the Kadazan Labuk language, *Buku Sembahyang coklat*⁷⁴ or the Brown Prayer Book called *Atoran Sambayang Ukarista Pakazon Saralom*

⁷³ Griffiths 2002: 19.

⁷⁴ The Prayer Books were referred by the colour of the book cover such as *merah* (red) and *coklat* (brown) instead of the title of the service books so as to enable the indigenous peoples to distinguish and to remember since most of them were non-literate and could not read the titles of the books..

Eklisia Jesselton (The Order of Holy Communion for the Use in the Diocese of Jesselton).⁷⁵ In St. Stephen's Mission in Segama, a pioneering CMS missionary from Australia, Jocelyn Thomas (Swanston), prepared a simple order of service book, containing elements of praise, thanksgiving, intercession and personal prayers, plus addresses on a great range of topics related to belief and practice of Christian faith in Malay, modelled on the Borneo Evangelical Mission (BEM).⁷⁶

2.3 Early attempts of inculturation

As mentioned earlier, in the preface of the *Buku Peraturan Sembahyang*, Luke Chhoa Heng Sze, the third Bishop of the Diocese of Sabah (1971-1990) claimed that the Prayer Book was not only a manual for worship but also a tool for spiritual warfare, referring to the fear of demons, evil spirits and darkness that is deeply rooted in the religious background of the indigenous peoples. In so doing, Chhoa had begun a process of intercultural listening.

Musa Ambai, a priest from Pinangah (Kinabatangan), in his reflections after attending an Anglicanism course in Trinity Theological College, Singapore on 1 July –7 September 1985 argued, 'The Christians in the interior are not convinced of what they are reading in the worship. Most of them are non-literate. Some never grasp the concept that "Peraturan Sembahyang" (order of worship) is part of their worship.'⁷⁷ In view of this, he suggested that in order for the Anglican 'formal or liturgical worship' to be meaningful, an Anglican worshipper needs 'to worship with conviction', 'to have positive attitude towards the Anglican traditions', and 'to worship with understanding' - 'by having understanding about the significance of Anglican practices and traditions'.⁷⁸ He concluded his reflections:

⁷⁵ Atoran Sambayang Ukarista Pakazon Saralom Eklisia Jesselton, *The Order of Holy Communion for Use in the Diocese of Jesselton*, London: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG 915) (Printed in Sabah Publishing House, Jesselton). See Appendix vii (digital image).

⁷⁶ Before coming to Segama, Jocelyn Thomas spent a few weeks with BEM in Sarawak, whose work was among indigenous peoples in the rural parts or villages. According to her, the BEM, rather than the Anglican Church, or the work of other interior missions, informed much of the method she employed. This is based on my conversation with her on 26 October 2012 in London and followed by e-mail correspondence dated 3 November 2012.

⁷⁷ Musa Ambai, 'Appreciation of Anglican Worship' a short article for the Sabah Anglican Observer, Christmas 1985 cited in Boughton 2012: 144.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

It is my prayer that more and more of our workers will understand and be convinced of Anglican traditions. If that can be so, I believe we can preserve the helpful tradition of the Anglican Church and yet at the same time build up the spiritual life of the people instead of forcing the people to follow traditions without understanding and conviction of what they are following.⁷⁹

This implies the need for liturgical education and formation.⁸⁰ In Sabah today, the congregation normally sit in rows facing the front, listening to the priest or the selected few, who conduct the worship service using the *Buku Peraturan Sembahyang*. The congregation is expected to be attentive in reciting the liturgy, listening to Bible readings and sermons, and to participate in singing, mostly translated hymns or contemporary songs (Hillsong) and intercessions. Holy Communion is generally celebrated every Sunday in the English and Chinese speaking congregations in the urban churches but infrequently in the Malay-speaking congregations due to a shortage of priests.

These practices are foreign to the people. For example, the seating arrangement during worship services is contrary to the indigenous people's ways of conducting their religious ceremonies. They normally stand or sit in a big circle, symbolising the community as a whole and equal regardless of the different roles and functions. The Kadazandusun Christians perceive the Anglican Church as hierarchical and its leadership is male-oriented and this is reflected in the worship services. This is different from the Kadazandusun community. Although there is a council comprising elders and spiritual leaders, every member of the community is treated equally and given a voice. Decisions are often made through consensus. Although there are elders in the community, their roles and functions are as moderators and facilitators, not rulers or decision makers.⁸¹

Due to the absence of resident priests in St. Stephen's Mission in the 1960s–1970s, the congregation in Segama was more lay-oriented than the Holy Cross Mission

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ See Earey, M. and Tovey, P. *Liturgical Formation and Common Worship*.

⁸¹ During the pioneering period of the Anglican mission in Borneo and in the beginning of the formation of the Diocese of Sabah, the indigenous peoples regarded the bishops like supreme holy men due to their colourful and expensive looking clerical robes or vestments, and rings. It was a common practice for people to kiss the bishops' rings, bow before them, and to address them, 'Your grace' or 'Lord Bishop'. This concept of leadership and reverence given to the diocesan bishops were completely foreign to the indigenous peoples and very confusing.

in Labuk and the Epiphany Mission in Kinabatangan.⁸² According to Swanston, a group of elders was elected by the church consisting of Christians considered to be the most mature in the Christian faith. The elders helped the missionaries in various ways, including understanding the local culture. Students in the mission school were appointed to assist the missionaries in conducting the Sunday services, Sunday school and evangelism.⁸³

The Epiphany Mission in Kinabatangan and Holy Cross Mission in Labuk had resident priests who were the Iban missionaries, Arnold Puntang and Lawrence Lawin, sent by the Anglican Church in Sarawak.⁸⁴ In the absence of the priests from the mission stations, catechists were given the opportunity to lead the worship services and preaching. The catechists focussed on Christian practices, such as urging the people to attend Sunday services and to pray. They refrained from conducting a religious healing ceremony or *mamiau/berjin*. Instead people were commended to go the mission clinic when they fell ill. This kind of basic teaching was connected to their former religious practice and therefore was helpful in enlightening their spirituality.⁸⁵

2.4 Impact of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements on Anglican Worship

The Pentecostal movement⁸⁶ came to Sabah in the 1970s, followed by the Charismatic movement⁸⁷ in the 1980s. The Pentecostal movement began 1973 in Sarawak as a result of the ministry of an Indonesian evangelist, Petrus Octavianus, who preached during an

⁸² 'I knew that one day they would have to be integrated into the Anglican Church so the simple order of service would at least get them a little prepared for it.' Personal communication with Jocelyn Swanston (Thomas) on 1 May 2009.

⁸³ Personal communication with Jocelyn Swanston (Thomas) on 1 May 2009.

⁸⁴ Both missionaries committed themselves to minister among the indigenous peoples in Kinabatangan and Labuk until their retirement. Puntang was responsible in planting many churches in the both areas.

⁸⁵ Personal communication with Sylvia Jeanes on 9 December 2011.

⁸⁶ The history of Pentecostalism is often traced back to the Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles in 1906. The Pentecostal movement that came out of the Azusa Street Revival was a singing revival, adapting familiar worship music and creating new songs. Redman 2002: 22-46.

⁸⁷ This was known as the 'third wave' or the 'apostolic church movement'. Wagner, 'The Third Wave of the Holy Spirit' 1988 and 'The New Apostolic Churches' 1998.

Easter convention cum revival meeting in the SIB churches,⁸⁸ where many indigenous peoples were converted to Christianity and renewed their Christian commitment. Subsequently, spiritual revival occurred also in other indigenous churches, including the Anglican Church in Sabah.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, many Christians in Sabah, including clergy and members of the Anglican Church, were attracted to the Pentecostal and Charismatic ‘Spirit-filled’ worship.⁸⁹ Inter-church revival meetings were conducted and Pentecostal forms and styles of preaching the Word were adopted during church services, prayer meetings and inter-church conferences. The revival meetings and worship services were usually followed by altar calls with the intention of challenging people to repent and to re-dedicate their lives to God and subsequently, to receive spiritual gifts and blessings in the form of speaking in tongues, healing and deliverance through the laying on of hands. The Toronto Blessing phenomenon also had a great impact on many of the churches in Sabah, including the Anglican Church.⁹⁰

The impact of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements was evident especially in transforming the worship styles or patterns of the Anglican Church in Sabah, due to their contemporary popular music and songs.⁹¹ Some diocesan priests adopted the Pentecostal style of preaching and began implementing altar calls and prayer ministries during the worship services.⁹² As a result, although Anglican worship in Sabah remains liturgical, it has also become Pentecostal and Charismatic, particularly in the implementation of contemporary music and songs translated from English as well as the Indonesian language. Many church members, especially the youths are attracted to the Pentecostal and Charismatic’s emphasis on one’s personal encounter with God through songs and music.

⁸⁸ Tan Jin Huat, ‘Pentecostals and Charismatics in Malaysia and Singapore’ in Anderson & Tang 2005: 239.

⁸⁹ McLean 1999: 13.

⁹⁰ The Toronto Blessing refers to a revival phenomenon which begun in January 1994 at the Toronto Airport Vineyard Church, Toronto, Canada.

⁹¹ Most of the songs are translated from Hillsong and other contemporary Christian bands and singers. Part of the Hillsong ethos is that the church itself has been chosen by God to produce new congregational songs. Evans 2006: 100.

⁹² There were diocesan priests who left the Anglican Diocese of Sabah due to the influence of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movement in the 1990s.

In response to the Pentecostal and Charismatic movement, the Anglican Church formed a worship committee in 1992 to work on a draft of an 'Alternative Eucharist Service'. Consequently, a simplified Holy Communion book called 'Service A' was produced and authorised in 1993. Besides, the 'Service for the Burial of the Dead' that was used in the 1970s was revived and reprinted. However, there were no major changes in the services except some of the old hymns were replaced with new contemporary songs. Through this attempt, an Anglo-Catholic influence was reintroduced.⁹³ Thus, despite the influence of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements, worship in the Anglican Church remains orthodox in terms of its Anglican elements and characteristics, but vibrant in its worship style, specifically with the insertion of the 'Praise and Worship' time at the beginning of the worship service. There is very little element of local culture and indigenous expressions in worship in the Anglican Church due to a lack of awareness on the significance of inculturation or contextualisation. In response to my questionnaire, Lin Khee Vun claims, 'As a priest I am critical on how contextualization is lacking in the way we worship.'⁹⁴

2.4.1 Praise and Worship

As a consequence of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements in the past three decades, Anglican worship has adapted itself to newer trends as mentioned earlier. As Boughton stated, 'The traditional form of Holy Communion as expressed in the contemporary Sabah 1984 English Prayer Book was felt inadequate to properly deal with the Charismatic style of worship.'⁹⁵ Nevertheless, worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah continues to be liturgical but at the same time it has become contemporary in terms of its worship style. Ambai, a diocesan priest, claimed, 'Our openness to the Spirit of the Lord and back [return to] to the Bible has been our strength over the years. We are willing to learn from other people and explore new edifying possibility in our worship.'⁹⁶ Likewise, John Yeo, an assistance bishop in the Anglican Church in Sabah, asserted that there is a balance and combination of contemporary worship with the more formal

⁹³ Boughton 2012: 199.

⁹⁴ Personal interview on 4 February 2013 in Kota Kinabalu, followed by e-mail (as a response to my questionnaire) 17 March 2013.

⁹⁵ Boughton 2012: 199.

⁹⁶ Personal communication with Rev Musa Ambai on 22 February 2013.

liturgy in the church.⁹⁷ However, Burfield, a former lecturer teaching ‘Worship and Liturgy’ for many years in the Sabah Theological Seminary stated:

The problem is that the contemporary worship is not integrated but has a split personality. The ‘Praise’ is imprisoned at the beginning of the service and removed from its rightful position at meaningful parts of the liturgy. For the worship to be meaningful the music, song and praise must become part of the liturgy.⁹⁸

This is part of the on-going challenge of inculturation. Normally, Sunday worship services are vibrant with contemporary Western music accompanied by modern musical instruments such as keyboard, drums and electric guitars, contemporary Western Christian songs and tambourine dances.⁹⁹ Like in other indigenous churches in Sabah, this style of worship caters more to the needs of the younger generation who prefer contemporary music and songs, popularized by Pentecostal and Charismatics churches, such as Hillsong¹⁰⁰ songs and music – ‘closer to their hearts’ since the music and lyric of the songs are easy to follow compared to traditional hymns. Moreover, the ‘Praise and Worship’ time draws them closer to God since it provides an atmosphere for worship.¹⁰¹ It is a ‘new’ form of Western Christianity.

However, some church members (35 years old and above) stated that they feel comfortable with the Anglican order of service as it gives them a sense of balance, calmness and ‘flow’ compared to the ‘rock music’ during the ‘Praise and Worship’ time. They suggested an informal teaching and discussion about the different elements in the liturgy. In addition, they also proposed that the church provided training for the

⁹⁷ Boughton 2012: 305.

⁹⁸ Personal communication on 8 April 2013.

⁹⁹ Tambourine dance or liturgical dance was introduced to the Anglican Church in the late 1980s. It is thus a common practice to have the dance during the ‘Praise and Worship’ time. According to a tambourine dancer who has been involved in tambourine dancing for the past twenty years, the main purpose of the dancing ministry is to stimulate the congregation to worship God. It is therefore important for the worship team in the church, comprising of the worship leader, back-up singers, musicians, and tambourine dancers to plan the ‘Praise and worship time’ together. The various patterns of the liturgical dance accompanied by music and songs are intended to provide a worshipful atmosphere for the congregation. Personal communication with Angela Dewi Ationg, a tambourine trainer and dancer in St Michaels and All Angels in Sandakan on 20 January 2012.

¹⁰⁰ Hillsong Church is founded by Brian and Bobbie Houston in 1983 and known as the Hills Christian Life Centre. It is a Pentecostal mega church affiliated with Australian Christian churches and located in Sydney. The church has produced hundreds of Christian songs on CDs since 1992 that influence churches all over the world including in Sabah.

¹⁰¹ Based on the question I posted on 14 January 2012 in a Facebook group created by the Malay-speaking youth and young adults in the Diocese of Sabah, ‘Members of Anglican Church Worldwide (BM)’ with 2,563 members.

worship leaders so that they can be more creative rather than simply reading the Prayer Book.¹⁰²

There is neither any serious attempt to compose local Christian songs and indigenous music nor to use local musical instruments¹⁰³ in church services. The exception is during the Harvest Festival celebration or significant events such as the opening service for the General Synod or Ordination services, but more for cultural expressions rather than for inculturation purposes.¹⁰⁴ The Anglican Church and other churches in Sabah claim that they are experiencing renewal or reformation of worship, but the worship style is still foreign and unconnected to the indigenous people's culture and to the Malaysian context. It is therefore crucial for the people to understand the concept of worship: its meaning, purpose and goal. It is also a challenge to create awareness that local instruments such as *gongs*, *kulintangan*, can be used for Christian worship and indigenous worship songs can be composed and sung during worship services. Furthermore, it is critical to assist the young generation to appreciate their local culture and indigenous expressions so as to equip them to become leaders who are rooted in the Christian tradition as well as in their local culture and tradition – fully Christian and fully Malaysian Kadazandusun.

2.4.2 Electronic resources

During the pioneering stage of the Anglican mission, traditional music and musical instruments were associated with traditional religious ceremonies. They were viewed as 'pagan' or 'belonging to the devil'. In order for the new Christians to be set apart from their traditional beliefs and practices, the use of their cultural musical instruments was forbidden in Christian worship. Thus, there was no attempt to use local musical instruments or to integrate indigenous traditional music in worship.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan, Kadazandusun Chair in the Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS) states that 'Musical instruments in Sabah, like other functional objects of material culture, thus reflect the distinctive nature of the cultures that produce and use them.' Pugh-Kitingan 2004: 60.

¹⁰⁴ There is a need for the indigenous churches in Sabah and theological seminaries to take this matter seriously for the benefits of future generation. In fact, worship and liturgy and music courses in theological seminaries need to include indigenous elements.

There is a tendency today for many churches including the Anglican Church to limit the concept of worship to merely music and singing called 'Praise and Worship'. Burfield observed:

In recent decades praise has been the main focus of worship, especially in churches influenced by charismatic renewal. So much so that, although praise is by no means the whole of worship, they have become inseparably linked together in people's thinking and vocabulary.¹⁰⁵

This emphasis is a consequence of the impact of the Charismatic Renewal Movement or the Third Wave Movement.¹⁰⁶ Most churches in Sabah now begin Sunday services with a time of 'Praise and Worship'. It is therefore crucial to inform the congregations, specifically the youths, that although praise is an important biblical element in any worship service for the purpose of declaring God's attributes, worship is not limited to singing and music or simply a 'Praise and Worship' time. Worship encompasses the whole service and one's whole life. Furthermore, it is necessary for the church to study and explore possibilities of integrating indigenous musical instruments in worship services. By so doing, traditional music and musical instruments will no longer be perceived as associated with evil spirits. Today congregations have matured in their Christian faith. Their understanding of worship enables them to discern which and how indigenous musical instruments can be reclaimed for worship during Sunday service and in other forms of Christian worship.¹⁰⁷ Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan claims: 'Sabah has a rich musical heritage. There are many varieties of vocal music, ranging from simple songs to long elaborate esoteric ritual chanting. Instrumental music is equally varied.'¹⁰⁸ The church needs to explore and develop these options.

Thus, it is important to examine critically which indigenous instruments are appropriate for corporate singing. Musicians, composers and lyricists need to be encouraged and challenged to study the culture of the congregations and to compose indigenous music and songs that is contextual rather than importing foreign music and

¹⁰⁵ Burfield 2003: 87.

¹⁰⁶ Peter Wagner used the term 'Third Wave Movement' or Third Wave of the Holy Spirit. It originated at Fuller Theological Seminary in 1981 under the classroom ministry of John Wimber, the founder of the Association of Vineyard Churches.

¹⁰⁷ According to Pugh-Kitingan, brief references to music and musical instruments in Sabah (North Borneo) were mentioned in some of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries European records of exploration and preliminary cultural observations in North Borneo. See Pugh-Kitingan 2004: 8.

¹⁰⁸ Pugh-Kitingan 2004: 15.

songs. There is a need not only to revive but also to inculturate indigenous music and songs.

Today, the forces of globalization are bringing changes from multiple directions with great speed and intensity. These forces inevitably bring changes to worship in Sabah, more quickly than ever before. Many churches are incorporating in their worship services elements from Western Charismatics and their 'contemporary' style of worship. This is a new form of colonialism.

The technological explosion has definitely impacted worship in the church. Apart from using electronic musical instruments during worship services, computers and power point are considered a necessity in church services, including in the rural areas where electricity power is limited. This has become a trend for the past decade.¹⁰⁹ During the 'praise and worship' time, a power point presentation is vital to project the lyrics of the songs. Even the order of service and contents of the Prayer Book, and Bible readings are projected on power point these days. A power point presentation is also deemed essential during the preaching of the Word. There is an unwritten regulation across the Anglican Church for vicars or rectors to prepare the Sunday sermons outlines and to distribute them to curates and evangelists in their vicinities. Sermon outlines are projected on power point.

Tracing the development of worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah, it is still evident that the Prayer Book (liturgical worship) is still instrumental to the Malay-speaking congregations but there is a need to make it relevant, meaningful and engaging by examining and critiquing the religio-cultural elements and expressions of the indigenous peoples and subsequently decide which elements and expressions can be adopted, adapted, transformed, reinterpreted and integrated in the Anglican worship. There is also a need for more flexibility and freedom to design corporate worship services. By considering the religio-cultural background of the indigenous peoples and integrating some of the cultural elements and expressions, worship services can be made more meaningful and 'connecting' to the indigenous people's spirituality. In this way, the congregations do not misunderstand the purpose of using the Prayer Book as simply

¹⁰⁹ Fund raising for the purpose of buying such electronic instruments has become an important component in the Sunday announcement. Based on conversations with individuals in December 2012 – March 2013.

a book to be ‘read and recited’ or regard it as a tradition or ‘law and order’ in the Anglican Church.¹¹⁰

2.4.3 Missiological Implications of Worship

There is a general assumption in the church today that liturgy and mission do not naturally belong together.¹¹¹ Bevans and Schroeder disputed this misunderstanding of liturgy and mission:

Liturgy is mission in prophetic dialogue. It needs to be celebrated with deep awareness of the context of the community – its experiences, its culture, its social location(s), its struggles and its victories. It needs to be celebrated with an ‘eye to the borders,’ recognizing that for one or two or more in the congregation, the liturgical action can be a moment of evangelization.¹¹²

Liturgy as ‘work of the people’ indicates the response of the congregation to God and God’s story. As stated by Bevans and Schroeder, liturgy is a celebration of a community in their own context as a witness to the society. However, as a consequence of the lack of understanding on the relationship of liturgy (worship) and mission, liturgical worship is often regarded as a hindrance to mission and therefore needs to be reduced. For instance, the Anglican service that uses liturgy is often viewed as ‘old and out-of-date’, especially by youth or who are inclined to the Pentecostal and Charismatic style of worship. According to their viewpoint, it is no longer relevant to their time and context, especially the music and songs. In fact, they need to be aware that the liturgy itself does not prescribe particular songs or music apart from the possibility of sung Psalms and responses. According to Wright, ‘Psalms are provided to guide worship.’¹¹³ But they are more attracted to the ‘free-flowing praise’ popularized by Hillsong and the like. This refers to a section in the Sunday service when twenty to thirty minutes is allocated for congregational singing. It is conducted by a worship leader and accompanied by back-up singers and a band with musical instruments such as drums, percussion and electric guitars. Songs are often stitched together into a medley by improvisational playing and modulation to create a sense of seamlessness, of one flowing into the next.¹¹⁴ The worship leader pays attention to the themes as well as

¹¹⁰ Some church members are familiar to liturgical worship but still find it distant. Personal communication with individuals from different age groups in December 2012 – March 2013.

¹¹¹ Earey & Headley 2002: 3.

¹¹² Bevans & Schroeder 2004: 366.

¹¹³ See ‘N. T. Wright Wants to Save the Best Worship Songs’ – Interview in Christianity Magazine September 2013.

¹¹⁴ This kind of worship most probably was an impact of the Vineyard Association of Churches, since its founder, John Wimber, was widely known in Sabah in the 1980s – 1990s.

musical order and sequence of songs.¹¹⁵ But normally the songs are often chosen for the music or a particular key change to allow movement from one song to another. The theme of the service is rarely focussed, as often the music group do not co-ordinate with the preacher. Thus, there is a clash of worship styles in the church that intensifies the generation gap and ignores local cultures and traditions.

Owing to this misconception of liturgical worship, there is a need to explain its biblical foundations so as to educate and to assist the congregations to understand the purpose of worship and to experience holistic worship. Furthermore, there is a need to inform the local congregations of the five key characteristics of Anglican worship as illustrated in the BCP: biblical, liturgical, sacramental, theological and communal.¹¹⁶ In this way, local congregations are able to see the significance of worship to mission as echoed by Avis, ‘Worship cannot be seen as something additional to other activities in mission. It occupies and must occupy the central place in Christian mission as well as mission theology.’¹¹⁷

2.4.4 Impact of Pentecostal and Charismatic Phenomena

Pentecostal and Charismatic phenomena have impacted on the Anglican Church in Sabah, and brought renewal and vitality in the worship services. Churches are growing, lives are being touched and changed, people are healed, and outsiders are being drawn in and brought to faith in Christ. For many Christians, this work of the Spirit has brought worship alive in a way not experienced before. From a scriptural perspective, the renewal has a healthy emphasis on praise and on the power of the Spirit working through the gifts of grace entrusted to the whole body of Christ and on the sense of the immanence of God experienced in personal lives through the indwelling presence of the Spirit. There is much that is commendable in Charismatic worship, which has brought a new emphasis on praise and gives expression to belief in a living creator God. God is known and experienced, and powerfully touches and transforms lives. The worship is lively, stirring and attractive, especially to the younger generation, and provides an opportunity to freely and emotively express love for God. Although there are many

¹¹⁵ The Vineyard model uses five distinct phases or moments in free-flowing praise: (1) Invitation, (2) engagement, (3) exaltation, (4) adoration, and (5) intimacy. This was often taught in Vineyard worship conferences. See Liesch *The New Worship: Straight Talk on Music and the Church* 1996.

¹¹⁶ These five characteristics of Anglican worship have been discussed in chapter 7.

¹¹⁷ Avis 2003: 183.

positive effects of the Charismatic renewal, there is also a need to reflect on it critically. One may ask whether this phenomenon is simply ‘Pseudo-Charismatic’ – the outward trimmings of music and style without the inner power of the life-giving Spirit.

From the perspective of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movement, worship is an explicit recognition of the fundamental role of the Holy Spirit in the Christian life and the importance of the ‘priesthood of all believers’. Worship is therefore closely associated with the manifestation of the work of the Holy Spirit. From this perspective, there are important lessons to be learnt from this worship renewal. However, it is also important to assess its impact on the spirituality of the indigenous people. For example, the older generation often feel marginalized during worship services due to the style of worship and its emphasis on emotions or feelings expressed in songs and music.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, their generation is more communal and feel uncomfortable with the ‘me – Thou’ kind of worship. Thus, they are more at ease with worship that is less emotionally expressive in public. They find the long session of singing and loud, contemporary or urban music disturbing and strange.¹¹⁹ For that reason, an assessment of the Anglican worship in Sabah is needed in order to consider liturgical inculturation as a tool for engaging the congregation in worship so as to nurture them spiritually as a community.

3. CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE ANGLICAN WORSHIP IN SABAH

3.1 Ways Anglican Worship ignored and adapted Local Cultures

David Peterson asserted:

Worship is the supreme and only indispensable activity of the Christian Church. It alone will endure, like the love of God, which it expresses, into heaven, when all other activities of the Church will have passed away. It must therefore, even more strictly than any of the less essential doings of the Church, come under the criticism and control of the revelation on which the Church is founded.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ From my own observation and interactions with some church members, many of them (elderly people including some young adults) are becoming bored and uncomfortable with the contemporary worship specifically the loud music, repetitive unfamiliar songs and long sermons with unrelated stories and jokes, which they consider are unbiblical and unedifying. They are surprised that there is so much emphasis given to musical instruments (band) and ‘Praise and Worship’ leaders and back-up singers during the worship service.

¹¹⁹ The indigenous people in Sabah are rich in communal and ceremonial life.

¹²⁰ Peterson 2004: 15.

Considering how important worship is in the life of the church and for the spirituality of the people, it is timely to evaluate the ways of Anglican worship in Sabah. This requires changes in order to explore new possibilities of making worship more meaningful. Whether engaging or connecting, worship is the response or service to God, an encounter or meeting with God, the work of the people –*leitourgia*.

3.1.1 Translation of Prayer Books

The translation of the Malay version of the BCP was merely a textual translation or formal translation without any local elements or expressions incorporated into it. It did not engage the congregations. According to Kaye, a sound translation process ‘involves not just the transposition of words from one language to another, but, the transformation of the way in which ideas and meanings are expressed.’¹²¹ Similarly, Chupungco argues that although ‘translation is a form of inculturation,’ ‘not every methods of translation fall into the category of inculturation.’¹²² He proposes dynamic equivalence method of translation that ‘aims to transmit the message of the original text to the recipients by using equivalent linguistic components with which they are familiar.’¹²³ The Malay version of the BCP in the Anglican Church of Sabah would be more effective and meaningful to the people if such a method of translation were used. Then Lamin Sanneh’s vision might be achieved:

Translation is primarily a matter of language, but it not only that, for language itself is a living expression of culture. Lexical resources must be deepened with the force of usage, custom, and tradition in order to become meaningful, particularly if we want to represent the dynamic quality of life. Language is not just the ‘soul’ of a people, as if it belongs to some sort of elite gnostic circle. Language is also the garment that gives shape, decorum, and vitality to conscious life, enabling us to appreciate the visible texture of life in its subtle, intricate variety and possibility.¹²⁴

This perspective is in keeping with the Lambeth Conference 1920:

While maintaining the authority of the Book of Common Prayer as the Anglican Standard of doctrine and practice, we consider that uniformity should not be regarded as a necessity throughout the churches of the Anglican Communion. The conditions of the church in

¹²¹ Kaye 2008: 77. There are different kinds of ‘translation’. For example, in the Malay Bible: the TMV is a ‘dynamic’ translation that seeks to convey meaning (more interpretive) whereas the Indonesian TB is more formal with the intention of trying to engage more with the text (more literal).

¹²² Chupungco, ‘Liturgiamauthenticum Translation in the Service of Inculturation,’ *Landas* 16:1 2002 118-123.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Sanneh 1990: 200.

many parts of the mission field render inapplicable the retention of the Book as the office fixed model.¹²⁵

Thus, the Prayer Book can be adapted or inculturated to all local contexts to make it relevant to local congregations for worship to be more effective and meaningful. Likewise, the Lambeth Conference 1930 indicated that:

Anglicanism acknowledges a providential ordering of distinct cultures and national destinies within which this common faith and order are expressed. The Anglican Communion is not geared to centralization or uniformity. Its origins should not be reduced to Western imperialism and colonialism. On the contrary, a principle of inculturation resides at the heart of the Anglican approach, however slow and reluctant Anglicans may have been to implement it in practice.¹²⁶

This declaration clearly shows that inculturation is central in Anglicanism and there is therefore a need to implement inculturation as a response to the cultural diversity within the AC. The Lambeth Conference 1988 once again stressed the importance of inculturating the Prayer Book:

This conference resolves that each province should be free, subject to essential universal Anglican norms of worship, and to a valuing of traditional materials; to seek that expression of worship, which is appropriate to its Christian people in their cultural context.¹²⁷

This is what needs to be done in the Anglican Church of Sabah and throughout the Southeast Asia Province. In addition, it is also important to consider using the different ethnic groups' - 'Mother tongues of the different ethnic groups' rather than Malay. For older people, Malay is a foreign language and not the 'language of the heart'. Language is fundamental to the process of inculturation.

3.1.2 Worship and Spirituality

Spirituality may be understood and interpreted in various ways from different contexts and perspectives. According to Alister McGrath:

Spirituality is the quest for a fulfilled and authentic religious life involving the bringing together of the ideas distinctive of that religion and the whole experience of living on the basis of and within the scope of that religion.¹²⁸

Based on his definition on spirituality, McGrath defined Christian spirituality as:

¹²⁵ Lambeth Conference 1920: 36.

¹²⁶ Avis 2007: 8-9.

¹²⁷ Lambeth Conference 1988: 47.

¹²⁸ McGrath, A. E., *Christian Spirituality: An Introduction*, 1999: 2.

The quest for a fulfilled and authentic Christian existence involving the bringing together of the fundamental ideas of Christianity and the whole experience of living the basis of and within the scope of the Christian faith.

McGrath's definitions indicate that the quest for a fulfilled and authentic religious or Christian life is closely associated with the way one integrates the ideas or teaching of such religion or Christianity in his/her life and living out one's life accordingly. Christian spirituality can be interpreted as our relationship with God. It is our response to the activity of God's grace in our lives. It is complex because God is beyond our comprehension. Our relationship with God remains mysterious and impenetrable to our minds. It is constantly changing and growing, drawing us intimately with God through our prayers and reading of the Bible. It is nurtured by preaching and teaching from the Bible, reading Christian literature, fellowship with other Christians during worship services and participation in other ecclesial practices. Christian spirituality develops as we acknowledge God and surrender and commit ourselves to God through Jesus Christ. We live out our lives by the leading of the Holy Spirit. This is our act of worship. Trust and faith in God is essential for our relationship with God to deepen until we see God 'face to face':

Almighty God,
You have made us for yourself,
and our hearts are restless
Until they find their rest in you.
May we find peace in your service,
and in the world to come, see you face to face.

St. Augustine's prayer indicates that to worship or give reverence to the Creator is essential for every created being. In worship, one is connected with God and experiences a personal and corporate relationship with God. Accordingly, one's spirituality is nurtured in the act and process of worshipping God personally and corporately. Wright asserted that '... the act of worship in itself, that is, on the human activity of giving God the glory, of praising the Creator for his goodness and power, his judgments and his mercy past, present, and future.'¹²⁹ Wright stressed that worship is 'acknowledging the worth, the worthiness of the one who is worshipped.' It is recognising and celebrating the presence of God, the Creator.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Wright, N. T., 'Worship in the Spirit and the New Testament,' Yale Conference on Worship and the Spirit, February 21-23 2008. Ntwrightpage.com/wright_Yale_Worship_Spirit.htm

¹³⁰ Wright, N. T., 'Freedom and Framework, Spirit and Truth: Recovering Biblical Worship.' *Studia Liturgica* 2002, 32, 176 - 195.

Kadazandusun spirituality can be understood as living in *Kinoringan*, the Creator's creation in the presence of the spirits, acknowledging *Kinoringan* as the Supreme Being and pleasing the spirits in words, thoughts and actions in order to maintain the order, balance and harmony. Thus, everything in creation is considered as living beings, spiritual, sacred, mysterious and inter-related. In a sense, indigenous peoples' spirituality can be interpreted as creation-centred because God's presence as the Creator as well as the Sustainer is recognised in all of creation. This understanding resonates with Psalm 24:1-2:

The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof,
the world and those who dwell therein.
for God has founded it upon the seas,
established it upon the rivers..."

As mentioned, Kadazandusun acknowledge God as the Supreme Being and the Creator. However, the traditional concept of worship is perceived as a way of appeasing God and the spirits out of fear more than as an expression of gratitude. The term 'reverence' is perceived as 'fear' in the negative sense. Children are taught not to address God by name but according to God's attributes. The Christian concept of spirituality as 'a relationship with God, the Creator' is quite strange for the indigenous peoples. This is due to the fact that their perception of a relationship with the Supreme Being as the Creator is a relationship of a created being or 'subordinate' who is obliged to give 'reverence' to God. It is, therefore, neither a personal nor an intimate relationship. Furthermore, for Kadazandusun, God is not to be known or to be made known. God is present in creation and it is therefore essential for the community to embrace God's creation. God or *Kinoringan* is good but completely remote from human beings and cannot be contacted.

In view of this perception of *Kinoringan*, the concept of prayer is unfamiliar to them.¹³¹ Furthermore, according to their religious practice, only *bobohizan*, believed to be anointed or *sinandatan* with special power or force have access to God and the spirits through chants or *rinait*. Communal life is significant in living out indigenous spirituality as reflected in their daily interactions not only with each other but also with their environment. It is essential for the presence of various spirits and life or *tatod* that exist in all of God's creation in the universe are acknowledged and respected.¹³²

¹³¹ Personal communication with individuals in December 2012 – March 2013.

¹³² Ibid.

Spirituality for indigenous peoples encompasses rituals that appease God and the spirits as ways of maintaining balance in the community and environment. The resulting experience of harmony, peace and justice can be comprehended as their act of worship. Thus, spirituality and worship for indigenous peoples, including the Kadazandusun, are inter-related and encompass the entirety of life.

There are two main types of religious rituals or ceremonies conducted by the Kadazandusun. First, religious ceremonies are conducted as a symbol of offering and thanksgiving to God, the Creator and Provider. For instance, *Tadau Kaamatan* or Harvest Festival is a ceremony celebrated yearly to commemorate the bountiful provisions of *Kinoringan*. *Tadau Kaamatan*, originally a religious ritual is now celebrated as one of the cultural festivals in Malaysia. This is recognition of its importance to the people. Second, religious rituals are for the purpose of appeasing the spirits, or *sogit*. They are conducted when there is an imbalance in the community due to immorality, natural disasters, epidemic, illness, and such like, believed to be the consequence of the wrath of God. To understand the Kadazandusun's spirituality, it is crucial to examine what are the converging and diverging points between the Kadazandusun's concept of worship and Christian worship. Innovative ways of expressing worship as a form of thanksgiving and gratitude to God based on the indigenous people's religio-cultural experience need to be acknowledged and nurtured.

One of the essential characteristics of the Kadazandusun's religious belief is that the relationship between human beings and spirits in the spiritual world. This relationship must always be balanced taking into account every action in the real world because it will have an effect in the spiritual world. The Kadazandusun acknowledge the presence of the spirits and their functions and authority in their specific territories as deliberated in chapter three in order to maintain peace and harmony in *Kinoringan's* creation.¹³³

The Kadazandusun can be categorized as monotheistic because they believe in *Kinoringan* as the Creator and Supreme Being. They can also be categorized as animistic because they believe that both the material and natural world have spirits. This is the essence of the Kadazandusun spirituality. For this reason, ceremonies of

¹³³ Based on my conversations with individuals (age 50 to 88 years old) in August 2009, September 2010 and December 2012 – March 2013.

appeasing the spirits are very significant in the community. Indigenous forms and rituals are the physical or outward expressions of this belief, such as the conducting of healing rituals. In spite of the fact that the Kadazandusun's spirituality shares many core concepts with other religions, there is still a tendency for the church to disregard their belief system and categorise it as 'pagan'. Could not the created realm be recognised and respected as being part of God's creation?

The traditional church service in the BCP or public worship is the response of the people to God through adoration, praise, thanksgiving, and public confession of sin and intercession. In order to make the worship service indigenous, it is essential to understand the local people's culture as related to their concept of God, specifically their approach to worship, prayer, singing, music and musical instruments. This includes their ways of gathering as an assembly, the structure of the community and their ways of relating to God and with one another. All these aspects are important in order to integrate the local ways or expressions. Thus, it is necessary to reflect both theologically and culturally with hermeneutical suspicion the religio-cultural concepts and rituals of Kadazandusun so as to integrate them into Christian worship and spirituality.

Furthermore, the Prayer Book needs to be translated using the dynamic equivalence method into the vernacular of each ethnic group.¹³⁴ This would make the public worship more meaningful since they were not familiar with the received medium of instruction, structure, order and rituals.¹³⁵ Today, we would not ask an ethnic community to memorize the prayers, responses, creeds and hymns that were foreign.

3.1.3 Music, Musical Instruments and Dance

Traditional music in Sabah and Sarawak is closely associated with music in the Philippines, Kalimantan and Sulawesi in terms of its functions and the types and characteristics of the musical instruments, and the melodic and colotomic structures.¹³⁶ This is due to geographical proximity and ethnicity similarities as an impact of early

¹³⁴ The main language families in Sabah are: Bajau, Banggi, Dusunic (Kadazan), Ida'an, Lundaya, Malayic, Murutic and Paitanic.

¹³⁵ Based on my conversations with elderly people, they understood it as the way of worshipping God.

¹³⁶ Nasaruddin 2003: 187.

migration. According to Nasarudin, almost all of the solo music and ensemble music in Sabah and Sarawak are meant to accompany ritual songs and dances.¹³⁷ In recent years, these music and dances are performed for cultural purposes.

The significance of music in the religious life of the Kadazandusun is closely associated with the beating of the drum (*gandang*). It is led by a gong music called *sompogogungan* (comprised of 6 gongs) and the *sumazau* dance that become a part of the ceremony. The *gandang* beating and the *sompogogungan* are believed to connect a person with the spiritual world. Normally, a *bobohizan* or ritualist performs the ritual while reciting a *rinait* or prayer. This ritual is to assist the *bobohizan* to be in contact with the spiritual world in order to meet, stir, and awake the bad spirits and to command them to return the ‘trapped’ human spirit.¹³⁸ Although traditional music, musical instruments, dances and songs can be re-examined and inculturated they are often considered ‘pagan’ or ‘unspiritual’. It is has been more attractive to adopt contemporary music, musical instruments, dances and songs for worship services than to seek ways to reclaim traditional practices, for example, using the *Sumazau* rhythm and dance in worship celebrations together with original Christian songs.

3.1.4 Traditional Spiritual Rites

Religious ceremonies and rituals play a significant part in the lives of the indigenous peoples in Sabah, including the Kadazandusun. Prior to the coming of Christianity and the introduction of modern medicine, healing rituals were practiced to protect the community from malevolent spirits, believed to be the cause illnesses. As discussed in chapter 3, there are different kinds of healing rituals, such as healing and sacrifices, healing and exorcism, or *momungkijas*, healing and divination. Generally, ritual specialists or priestesses who relied on *sinandatan* and assistance of the good spirits like *divato* perform these different kinds of healing ceremonies. The priestesses are believed to have the ability or ‘power’ to communicate with the spirits and to control or change events such as those that are considered to be causing problems, including illnesses, in the community. Their main role is to appease the spirits or forces that are perceived to

¹³⁷ Nasaruddin 2003: 187.

¹³⁸ The Kadazandusun believed that one’s spirit can be ‘trapped’ by one of the spirits as a result of not observing certain rituals or by stepping into the territory of a spirit. Based on my personal communication with individuals in December 2012 – March 2013.

be responsible for any crisis or imbalance in the community. The priestess' significant roles related to the spirits and spirit realm, including being responsible for the worship of supernatural beings in connection with human daily events. They are respected as the spiritual leaders in the community. When the indigenous people became Christians in the late 1950s, they were urged to abandon all their religious rituals including healing rituals. The ritual specialists and herbalists were considered possessing power from the evil spirits. In order for them to become Christians and members of the Anglican Church, they had to renounce everything that was related to their former ritual practices. The new converts were advised to receive modern treatment from the mission clinics or go for Christian prayer for healing. Many came to faith in the early years through healing in the name of Christ that can be relevant to the Kadazan healing ritual. Until today, prayer ministry that includes prayer for healing is emphasised in the church.

Considering the traditional spiritual rites of the Kadazandusun, it is appropriate for the church to examine critically the healing rituals with the aim of understanding the concepts and implications of sacrifice, appeasement to the spirits, anointing and healing.¹³⁹

3.1.5 Family Service or *Kebaktian rumahtangga*

As a community, the Kadazandusun is family-oriented. In view of this, during Chhoa's bishopric, Bible study and family worship service were emphasized in the Anglican Church. Subsequently, fellowship groups were formed for the purpose of reading and studying the Bible together. Home gatherings, beside the Sunday service, were held not only in the urban areas but also in the rural areas. It was particularly relevant for the rural congregations because most church members were scattered along the Kinabatangan, Labuk and Segama rivers, and in various villages in the jungle. Moreover, it was a way to communicate the Word of God to non-literate people. During house gatherings known as *kebaktian rumahtangga*, the evangelists¹⁴⁰ normally conducted worship service cum prayer meeting. Members of the host family and their

¹³⁹ Many Kadazandusun are attracted to the prayer and healing ministries of the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches since their concepts of 'power', 'anointing', 'deliverance' and 'manifestation of the spirit' are closer to their hearts. Based on my observation and personal conversation with individuals in the Anglican Church as well as in the SIB churches.

¹⁴⁰ Due to shortage of priests, trained evangelists are commissioned to be in-charged of congregations in the remote areas in Sabah. They are responsible to conduct the church services, pastoral care such as praying for the sick, home visitations and evangelism.

neighbours gathered together to pray, to sing and discuss the Bible based on the biblical reflections given by evangelists.¹⁴¹ Beginning from late the 1980s, a session called ‘ministry time’ which involves prayers for healing and deliverance became a part of the *kebaktian rumahtangga*.¹⁴²

Prior to Christianity, the indigenous peoples often had healing ceremonies called *berjin* in Segama or *mamiau* in Kinabatangan, where the ritualists and traditional healers gathered. They performed healing and deliverance ceremonies by casting out demons and evil spirits from the sick person or persons accompanied by the beating of gongs, dances, singing and loud voices commanding the spirits.

As a result of the impact of the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement, healing and deliverance ministries were implemented not only in house meetings but also during revival meetings or *kebangunan rohani* in churches in the late 1990s. Due to the influence of the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement, *kebaktian rumahtangga* gradually faded and the Cell Church¹⁴³ system was introduced. In recent years the ALPHA¹⁴⁴ course has been implemented in the Anglican Church. The healing and deliverance ministries are not performed as frequently as in the late 1990s. Church members desire more in-depth Bible study, solid biblical preaching and meaningful worship.¹⁴⁵

3.1.6 Spiritual Festival or *Pesta Rohani*

The Anglican Church in Sabah recognizes the significance of the *Tadau Kaamatan* or harvest festival and renamed it *Pesta Rohani* or spiritual feast. It has become a diocesan event since the late 1980s. Members from the various Malay-speaking congregations across Sabah gather together in Lembah Berkat, Telupid, for this celebration.

¹⁴¹ Diocesan evangelists are given two-year training in theological education in the Diocesan Bible School in Telupid. They are assigned to serve in various congregations in the remote villages. The priest-in-charge does his pastoral visits and conducts Eucharist once a month or less.

¹⁴² This practice is one of the influences of the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement.

¹⁴³ Cell Church aims for church growth – effective fruitfulness in community, pastoral care, greater harvest, spiritual ministry, nurturing new believers, broadening leadership base and rapid church planting.

¹⁴⁴ ALPHA course originated from Holy Trinity Brompton, London.

¹⁴⁵ Based on my conversations with Anglican priests, pastors from other churches, colleagues in the Sabah Theological Seminary and theological students in December 2012 – March 2013.

Celebrating the *Tadau Kaamatan* in a traditional way, people gathered together to revere and offer thanksgiving to *Bambarayon* or the rice spirit, while the *babalian* or ritualists performed the *magavau*.¹⁴⁶ During this festival, people gather together for an annual celebration of thanksgiving: eating, drinking, dancing, singing and reunion.

The Anglican Church, on the other hand, organises a diocesan gathering: worship services, biblical teachings, mass baptism in rivers, revival meetings, followed by healing and deliverance ministries in the evenings. The *Pesta Rohani* is normally a big celebration with spectacular opening and closing worship services, traditional dances and songs, music with traditional musical instruments. It is usually celebrated around Pentecost, which was originally a harvest festival. It is necessary to reflect on the *Tadau Kaamatan* theologically as well as culturally in order to understand its notion and implications for the communal and spiritual life of the Kadazandusun. In addition, this could also provide a point of contact with the liturgical year and Christian worship.¹⁴⁷

3.1.7 Healing and Deliverance Ministry

As already discussed, healing and deliverance ministries have been incorporated in the worship services in the Anglican Church, especially during prayer meetings, house gatherings and revival meetings. Examining the religious practice of the Kadazandusun, which stresses healing and deliverance or exorcism ceremonies, it is not surprising why this kind of ministry appeals to them. Therefore, it has been practised as a way of evangelism and reconnecting people to the Anglican Church.

Having examined the ways Anglican worship ignored and adapted local cultures, it implies that the task of inculturation has not been sufficiently implemented in spite of the attempts of the church to incorporate certain religio-cultural beliefs and practices with Christianity. There is still a need to examine, critique and evaluate the culture of the Kadazandusun not for purpose of ‘purifying’ it with judgmental lens, but to fully understand its meaning and implications for the Kadazandusun identity. According to Arbuckle, ‘Culture is made up of symbols that give meaning, direction and identity to

¹⁴⁶ *Tadau Kaamatan* has been defined and described in chapter 2.

¹⁴⁷ The initial aim of the *Pesta Rohani* was to distract church members from celebrating and getting drunk during the *Tadau Kaamatan* celebration.

people in ways that touch not just the intellect but especially the heart.’¹⁴⁸ Thus, for the Kadazandusun to fully embrace Christianity and experience ‘a fulfilled and authentic Christian existence’, it is opportune for the Anglican Church in Sabah to implement liturgical inculturation in order to make its worship meaningful and relevant for the Kadazandusun spirituality.

4. CONCLUSION

Anglican worship has succeeded in assisting individuals and congregations to worship God, particularly in Sunday corporate services in the Anglican Church of Sabah. Despite the fact that the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements have influenced the worship styles of the Anglican Church and add dynamics to the worship in the form of contemporary songs and music, the Anglican worship remains liturgical, following the Prayer Book. Liturgical worship continues to be a significant part in the ecclesial life of the Anglican Church. However, in the light of the spirituality of the indigenous peoples, including the Kadazandusun, it is necessary to employ liturgical inculturation in order to create a form of worship that is culturally relevant and yet biblical, liturgical, sacramental, communal and theological. Integrating indigenous cultural elements and expressions in the Anglican worship will definitely inspire the Kadazandusun to mature in their Christian faith and respond more fully to God’s own self-revelation through worship.

Through inculturation, worship can be made relevant and meaningful for everyone. It is therefore essential for the Anglican Church to create awareness and openness to the on-going process of inculturation. For instance, as mentioned in this chapter, it is an urgent task for the Anglican Church to examine and to critique the translation method and content of the Prayer Book by employing dynamic equivalence translation method. Furthermore, it is also equally urgent to consider translating it into the vernacular languages that are closer to the hearts of the congregations.

Considering the early attempts of inculturation in the Anglican Church as deliberated in this chapter, particularly the ways Anglican worship ignored and adapted local cultures, it is important to admit the church’s lack of critical reflections on the

¹⁴⁸ Arbuckle, G. A., ‘Inculturation, Not Adaptation’: Time to Change Terminology, *Worship* 60 (1) 511-520.

local cultures, including the religious beliefs and practices which encompass the spirituality of the Kadazandusun. However, due to the diversity of culture in the Anglican Church, it is also important not only to recognize the significance of cultural forms but also to articulate the practices, images, and themes that are transculturally significant.

Reflecting on the new trend of worship or ‘emerging worship’, it is critical not only to examine the Kadazandusun culture and religious beliefs, but also to investigate the strengths and weaknesses of contemporary worship and its impact on the youth. It is an urgent task to assess and critique the development of the Anglican worship and the factors that have influenced the style and pattern of worship in the Anglican Church with the intention of inculturating the Anglican worship. Inculturated worship definitely will enhance a more effective formation of the people of God, the members of the body of Christ. It will assist the indigenous peoples to embrace Christianity fully and to bear witness to their context since it is one of the objectives of worship.¹⁴⁹

Worship is the life of the church and inculturating the Anglican worship in Sabah is definitely a crucial challenge in order for the indigenous peoples to participate fully in the liturgy – ‘work of the people’. Thus, worship must be relevant, meaningful and transformative in every aspect of every member of the community’s life and the life of the community. There is a need for the Christian faith to be integrated into the local context through worship since God communicates with people through their cultural context. For instance, in the Old Testament, God revealed to the Hebrews through the Hebrew context, whereas in the New Testament, God’s revelation was manifested in the Graeco-Roman culture. Likewise, Jesus incarnated himself in a particular context in order to make himself known to the people of such a context. Thus, inculturation is an essential tool for communicating the Christian faith in the context of worship because it empowers a particular community in a particular context to worship God, both individually and corporately and grow in their Christian maturity.

¹⁴⁹ Earey & Headley 2002: 12.

CHAPTER 9

VISION FOR THE FUTURE

1. INTRODUCTION

This research has shown that liturgical worship is significant in the life of the Anglican Church of Sabah. The Anglican congregations are committed to use the Prayer Book regardless of its Western-oriented styles, forms and expressions of worship. To a degree, Anglican identity or distinctiveness needs to be preserved since it is associated with Anglican integrity. However, it is essential to allow flexibility and creativity in implementing the Anglican distinctiveness, including formulating new approaches to Anglican worship in the diverse contexts of Anglican churches in the worldwide Anglican Communion. It is essential to explore ways of making the Anglican worship relevant and meaningful for other cultures and contexts.

Based on my investigation on the impact of Anglicanism on the liturgical worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah as deliberated in the first and second parts of this thesis, I identify two movements in the process of inculturation in the Anglican Church of Sabah. Examining the first movement of inculturation or the encounter between Christianity and the religio-cultural beliefs and the second movement or the encounter of between Anglican worship and the Kadazandusun spirituality, it is evident the task of inculturation has not been implemented effectively. As a result, the indigenous peoples in Sabah, including the Kadazandusun, have not fully embraced worship that is relevant, meaningful and engaging.

Stated below are some of the excerpts of my interviews/conversations with various groups and individuals who are members of the Anglican Diocese of Sabah based on the questionnaires [Appendix I (b & c)] for the purpose of assessing the Anglican worship in the Malay-speaking congregations. I have translated them into English and used first person plural 'we' since these are the common themes of their responses:¹

¹ Conversations with women delegates of the Women Diocesan Conference in Tongud, Kinabatangan in August 2009, Bible-study/fellowship groups in and different individuals including theological students in December 2012-March 2013.

We highly appreciate the Prayer Book (*Buku Sembahyang*) because it is very biblical and theological. It seems that almost every section of the liturgy is quoted from the Bible and in the form of prayers of the congregation to God. No wonder it is called Prayer Book!

We are not theologically educated/trained and we have little idea about the history of the Church of England. For that reason, we are not sure whether changes or modifications can be made in the liturgy. We even tend to think that it cannot be changed or modified because it is inspired by God like the *Alkitab* (Bible).

Can we 'modify' the Prayer Book? Will the liturgy be diverted from its aim and meaning if we incorporate some local songs or indigenous expressions to make it more 'Sabahan' or indigenous?

It would be good if 'local flavour' can be incorporated in the liturgy such as indigenous music, songs, dances and symbols. In the past few years, we were attracted to the Pentecostal/Charismatic style of worship because we thought it was 'spiritual', vibrant and dynamic. But now... we are getting tired of the long session of singing, loud music and the tambourine dance. Although they say that the dance is liturgical and symbolic, we are not informed of the meaning or interpretation of the dance movements. Sometimes the dancers with their long, flowing dresses can be distracting. It is not our culture...

We are amazed by the way the Prayer Book has been composed. We commend the significance of the Prayer Book – it is astounding that every Anglican Church in the Anglican Communion worldwide uses the same Prayer Book for worship. It is the uniqueness of our Anglican worship, uniting all Anglicans across the globe.

We value our liturgical worship – it is biblical, theological and focused on God's love and sacrifice (Christocentric). The Holy Communion draws us closer to God. So even if we do not fully grasp the sermon or cannot follow the 'Praise and Worship', we still come to church.

The liturgy helps us to focus on God. It is not chaotic or based on the emotions of the worship leaders and back-up singers. But coming from a non-literate background, it is 'too wordy' and can be tedious and disengaging.

Can we have variations in our liturgical worship? Can the church assign musicians to compose local songs and music – biblical songs? Perhaps songs like the Psalms? Or songs related to our Christian experiences in Sabah and in Malaysia? We leave this task to the priests and to the theologically educated/trained people. In fact, we have priests who are gifted in music...

The young people enjoy the contemporary or modern songs and music but for us, *orang tua* (old people), the songs and music are too Western. We cannot follow the writing in the power point – the songs are too fast and the band is too loud – *rock music*? The worship leaders and even the preachers and intercessors sometimes use foreign words, which we do not understand...²

These excerpts indicate some of the strengths and weaknesses of the Anglican worship as a result of the lack of dialectical interaction or mutual conversation between Christianity and the culture of the indigenous people.³ It is apparent that generally members of the Anglican Church in Sabah value the Prayer Book and appreciate the

² There is a tendency (or trend?) for worship leaders, preachers and intercessors to insert English, Hebrew or Greek words.

³ This is discussed in chapter 2: Arbuckle 1986, Shorter 1988, Amaladoss, Azevedo 1982, Donovan 1988 and Bosch 1991.

liturgical worship. However, they also expressed their hope for the Anglican worship to be more indigenous by integrating indigenous cultural expressions.

The quest for inculturated (local) liturgies that remain faithful to the spirit of Anglican worship and relevant to the mood and ethos of the local culture is crucial.⁴ This is especially so since the indigenous people in the Anglican Church are not literate in the English language,⁵ nor familiar with idioms rooted in a Eurocentric context. Furthermore, the non-Anglo-Saxon Anglican churches do not come from a similar socio-political background as the Church of England, which are reflected in the BCP.⁶ Besides, the effectiveness of Christian worship in non-Anglo-Saxon contexts is very much influenced by worship which has the capacity to renew particular people and is not necessarily dependent on the BCP.⁷ For that reason, there is a need to deepen the inculturation of the Anglican worship through new rituals to which the people can relate.

Culture is continually changing. Thus, in implementing liturgical inculturation, it is critical not only to assess the traditional culture of the indigenous people but also to be in synchronicity with the contemporary culture that is influencing the younger generation. It is essential to reflect critically how far should the church be looking back at traditional culture and how far looking to the future and new cultural understanding. Such assessment will definitely help the church in Sabah to address the problem related to the gulf between youth and older generations. The new generation is culturally influenced by and is at ease with Western culture while their elders are not. In fact, in implementing liturgical inculturation in this twenty-first century in Malaysia, it is appropriate to address the bifurcation of inculturative practice seriously with such a challenging question: Does the Anglican Church of Sabah embed in traditional culture or modern globalized '1Malaysia'⁸ culture or even one world culture or both?

⁴ See Lambeth 1988 '... a simpler style of liturgical language... retains the essential poetic and memorable character of good liturgical writing, and in its content still conveys the Word of God.'

⁵ According to Earey and Hedley, the flexibility of language and form is to provide worship that is accessible, relevant, and truly dynamic. See Earey & Headley 2002: 14.

⁶ The structures and texts of the various Prayer Books used around the Anglican Communion were largely unchanged from the forms introduced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Meyers & Gibson 2010: xv-xvi.

⁷ Pobee, 'Non-Anglo-Saxon Anglicanism' in Sykes, Booty & Knight 1988: 452.

⁸ '1Malaysia' (One Malaysia or *Satu Malaysia* in the Malay language) is a concept and vision promoted by the present Prime Minister of Malaysia, Najib Abdul Razak and former prime ministers emphasising

The world where we live today is very different from the past centuries and rapidly changing in terms of technologies. All are affected by the rapid changes. Thus, while the message of the Prayer Book is still relevant and its contents and characteristics are biblical, sacramental, theological, liturgical and communal,⁹ the past mode of delivery has largely lost its impact and relevance to the present technological, postmodern, post-industrial and multi-media world. The repetitive form of worship suited to past centuries is no longer cherished today because people tend to seek diversity and newness in each worship service.¹⁰ The uniqueness of the Anglican worship is appreciated, especially how beautifully and theologically it is crafted. It is standardised and common everywhere in the Anglican Communion. It is orthodox and biblically oriented, which is an essential element that binds theological differences across the Anglican Communion. In addition, we also need to be aware that in a postmodern world, people may be searching ‘the mystery and majesty of God that more forms of worship can express, as well as the sense of God’s accessibility and intimacy that we value as part of the Gospel.’¹¹ There is a need for worship that is accessible as well as awesome or majestic.

Reflecting on the ineffectiveness of implementing inculturation in the Anglican Church of Sabah, I would like to propose ways for inculturating its worship. First, I discuss the factors that hinder the implementation of inculturation of the Anglican worship. Second, I will propose ways of deepening inculturataion.

harmony, national unity and national integration among the diverse ethnic communities in Malaysia with the intention of forming *Bangsa Malaysia* (Malaysian race).

⁹ The strengths of Anglican worship such as its depth and flow, biblical and theologically rich, its rites and ceremonies meet different occasions, it is God-centred and there is always a sense of awe in the liturgy. Nonetheless, its weaknesses are: not so relevant in our day and age; it is repetitive and word-bound; it is inflexible and has too much emphasis on tradition.

¹⁰ In the past the Kadazandusun tolerated the liturgy because they thought it was the only way of for Christians to worship God. Responses from the survey in Appendix I (a).

¹¹ Earey & Headley 2002: 22.

2. PROPOSAL FOR DEEPENING THE INCULTURATION OF ANGLICAN WORSHIP IN SABAH

The findings based on the interviews or conversations with individuals and focus groups and on my personal observation reveal five main factors that have hindered the process of inculturation in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah, specifically in its worship.

2.1 Factors That Hinder the Inculturation of Anglican Worship

2.1.1 Lack of Awareness for the Need for Inculturation

Christian worship is shaped by culture and inculturation is the interaction between the church and the cultural context. Earey and Headley claim that cultural factors can influence the way one understands oneself and one's environment, and the way one expresses oneself.¹² According to Shorter:

Inculturation as the incarnation of the Christian life and message in a particular cultural context in such a way that not only do local Christians find expression for their faith through elements proper to their culture, but also that faith and worship animate, direct and unify the culture.¹³

Shorter's claim indicates that inculturation of worship involves the interaction of faith and culture, whereby Christian faith is presented in the context of worship and the culture of the indigenous people in Sabah. Correspondingly, Tovey asserts that inculturation can be defined as the process of overcoming cultural alienation in worship.¹⁴ Culture is also a dynamic and living reality, subject to change and growth. In view of that, Christian worship needs to be studied and reassessed not only based on the culture of its context but also in its time or era. Due to a lack of awareness for the need for inculturation, Anglican worship in Sabah has not been examined. As a result, inculturation has been unintentionally ignored or neglected. Lin Khee Vun, a diocesan priest claims:

As a priest, I am critical how contextualisation (inculturation) is lacking in the way we worship. As for why people seem to be able to worship still remains suspicious. I doubt if people capture the full meaning of the liturgy. One of the examples we see is how swiftly the confession is done in most of the churches and leaders are not comfortable with leading

¹² Earey & Headley 2002: 22.

¹³ Shorter 1988: 11.

¹⁴ Tovey 2004:

people into an authentic relationship with God.¹⁵

The responses from different individuals and groups concerning the importance of making the Anglican worship relevant and meaningful confirm the lack of their awareness of the task of inculturation as a tool to communicate Christian faith in the context of worship. As a result, there is no critical and dynamic interaction between English Anglicanism and Kadazandusun Anglicanism and worship remains foreign and disengaging. The Kadazandusun are not empowered to participate fully in examining and critiquing the liturgical worship in order to formulate and interpret worship anew that is relevant to the context and culture. The liturgy needs to be developed by implementing inculturation so that local Christians [can] find expression for their faith.

2.1.2 Fear of Transgression

Faith and culture are inseparable and both play their role in the process of inculturation.¹⁶ In view of this, Christian worship is shaped by culture. However, due to a lack of biblical and theological understanding about worship as a result of lack of liturgical formation,¹⁷ Anglicans in Sabah have willingly accepted the Anglican worship as the standard way of worshipping God. There was and is not much critical reflection and assessment on Anglican worship and Kadazandusun traditional worship due to fear of transgression by adapting or integrating ‘pagan’ elements in the Anglican worship. As a result, the indigenous peoples had to disregard their religious beliefs and practices in order to become Anglican Christians. They had to worship unquestionably according to the prescribed ways since it was thought to be the only appropriate way of connecting with the new *Kinorangan* and affiliating themselves with the new community. According to some of the early Christian converts, one of the most challenging tasks of becoming Christian was to turn away or leave behind their traditional religious affiliation and adopt a foreign religion.¹⁸

When the question on the meaning and consequence of ‘Christian conversion’ was asked, respondents of the interviews generally used the terms *manalikud* and

¹⁵ Personal communication with Rev. Lin Khee Vun on 17 March 2013.

¹⁶ Shorter 1988.

¹⁷ Earey and Tovey 2009.

¹⁸ Responses from different individuals and groups in the survey in Appendix I (c).

mangingkad literally meaning turning away and throwing away their former religious affiliation. Nonetheless, they were willing to become Christians because of the ‘liberating power of the gospel’ that they experience, specifically freedom from ‘the fear of the malevolent spirits and the power of darkness’.¹⁹

As elaborated in chapter 2, inculturation is an interaction or dialogue between the gospel and culture. It is a double movement: inculturation of Christianity and the Christianization of a culture. But reflecting on the experiences of some of the early Christian converts in the Anglican Church of Sabah indicates that both the culture of the Kadazandusun and the Christian faith that was imparted by the missionaries were not challenged, affirmed and transformed in the early years of the Anglican mission. There was hardly any ‘process of exchange’ where both the indigenous culture and Christian faith were involved. As a response to this limitation, three missionaries acknowledged the language barrier between them and the indigenous people.²⁰ Nonetheless, they testified that in spite of the communication problem, many people responded to the Gospel and believed that it must be the work of the Holy Spirit, which corresponded to the responses given by the respondents in relation to the question of conversion to Christianity.²¹ According to them, converting to Christianity gave them a kind of joy and freedom from different kinds of fear related to their traditional religion that was spirit-oriented²² as discussed in chapter 3.

2.1.3 Fear of Syncretism

Syncretism is ‘the attempt to reconcile diverse or conflicting beliefs or religious practices into a unified system.’²³ There are two forms of cultural syncretism. First, translating Christian faith by uncritically using symbols and religious practices of the receiving culture and therefore causing a fusion of Christian and pagan beliefs and practices; second, imposing one’s cultural forms and religious conviction on the converts.²⁴ Due to a lack of understanding on the meaning of the term syncretism and its

¹⁹ Based on interviews/conversations with different individuals who became Christians in the late 1950s and early 1960s – Appendix I (a).

²⁰ Personal communication with three different pioneering missionaries.

²¹ Conversation with individuals who became Christians in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

²² This was the *kesaksian* (testimony) of many individuals in the survey based on Appendix I(a)

²³ Nicholls 1979: 29.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 31.

consequences, inculturation has not been given much attention. For instance, one of the diocesan priests commented:

The Anglican worship should be God-centred and biblically based, not the place or the people or 'indigenous.' The only indigenous thing I can think of is that local should rise up to write and sing songs with local taste and music. Rather than inculturating or contextualising the worship service, I would rather emphasise both leaders and members to desire Jesus Christ, to know what He wants and what He desires. Once our hearts are close to him, we will do what He wants!²⁵

The fear of syncretism is related to the fear of a resurgence of paganism in the local expression of Christianity.²⁶ Due to the connotation given to the Kadazandusun traditional religious belief as 'pagan', the fear of syncretism persists in the mind of some members of the Anglican Church until today. Examining and critiquing the Anglican worship in order to integrate cultural forms and expressions of the Kadazandusun spirituality is perceived as encouraging syncretism.

2.1.4 Influence of Western-oriented Theological Education

Clergy, pastoral staff and theological educators in the Diocese of Sabah received their theological education and training from Western countries or Western-oriented theological colleges or seminaries in Asia. Moreover, they acquired their early education in mission schools with English as the medium of instruction. It is, therefore, not surprising that their awareness and knowledge concerning inculturation of worship is limited. Furthermore, as new theologians and pastoral workers trained in different contexts with syllabi and curricula failing to engage local contexts and issues, their theological reflections were inadequate.

In 1970, the new Malaysianised curriculum introduced in schools in Sabah with the intention of inducing a spirit of nationalism among the younger generation proved confusing, particularly amongst the mission schools' students. In 1988, the Sabah Theological Seminary was established to provide theological education for the indigenous peoples in Malaysia in the Malay language with the intention of an Asian orientation. In addition, the Anglican Diocese of Sabah also started its theological

²⁵ One of the very few diocesan priests who responded to one of the questions in my questionnaire: How do we make the Anglican worship relevant to the indigenous people in Sabah? Personal communication on 1 March 2013.

²⁶ Schineller, P. 'Inculturation and Syncretism: What is the Real Issue?' *International Bulletin Missionary Research* vol. 16, No. 2, April 1992.

training centre to train evangelists for the Malay-speaking congregations in the rural areas. Consequently, the number of clergy and evangelists for the Malay-speaking congregations has increased. However, approaches to theological education in seminaries as well as in Bible schools or training centres in Sabah are undeniably still Western-oriented due to a shortage of indigenous theological educators and theological books in the Malay language. There is a need to develop indigenous theological educators and for local seminaries to be engaged in critical reflections pertaining to issues related to local context and the life of the church, including inculturation of worship since it is the foundation of spirituality.

2.1.5 Pentecostal and Charismatic Phenomena

It is indisputable that the Pentecostal and Charismatic phenomena have influenced the worship style and emphasis of the Anglican Church of Sabah.²⁷ The phenomena were accompanied by a renewal of nominal Christians and the conversion of non-Christians. Pentecostal and Charismatic speakers and preachers swamped the Anglican Church of Sabah. As discussed in the previous chapter, worship was still liturgical but more flexible with an extended time for singing contemporary songs. It included a Pentecostal style of preaching followed by altar calls and deliverance and healing ministries.

In response to the Pentecostal and Charismatic phenomena, the Anglican Church of Sabah formed its worship committee in 1992 to draft an Alternative Eucharist Service to preserve the Anglican liturgy and at the same time to give more flexibility and freedom in worship.²⁸ There was no attempt of inculturating the Anglican worship. As a result of the Pentecostal and Charismatic phenomena, worship in the church has become more Western-oriented in terms of the songs, music, dances and styles of preaching and teaching in spite of the fact that the Diocesan Bishop, Yong Ping Chung called for a 'solid biblical foundation and renewal of the Spirit for every believer'.²⁹ The

²⁷ A number of diocesan priests resigned from the Anglican Church of Sabah during this era because they became more involved in the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement and therefore either joined Pentecostal or Charismatic churches or set up their own churches.

²⁸ This was because some priests were convinced of the Pentecostal and charismatic movement and adopted the Pentecostal and Charismatic style of worship and ministries (prayer and fasting, deliverance and healing ministries in their respective churches. Their sermons focused on spiritual warfare and the impartation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Some priests even left the Anglican Diocese of Sabah and started their own independent churches.

²⁹ Boughton 2012: 198.

church understood the phenomena as a spiritual renewal or ‘work of the Holy Spirit’ and did not engage in the serious exploration and study required for true inculturation of the Anglican worship.

2.2 Possible Ways of Deepening the Inculturation of Anglican Worship

In the inculturation of the Gospel message its meanings and values must be proclaimed to the hearers, using their own cultural symbols and language, to enable them to feel at home in their own culture and be excited about sharing in the mission of the universal church. Similarly, in the inculturation of Anglican worship, not only its language has to be translated into the local language but also its forms, styles, expressions and symbols, so as to empower the worshippers to worship in their own culture and context. This can only be accomplished by understanding, examining and critiquing the local culture in order to look for converging points between Anglican worship and the indigenous culture. Moreover, by employing theological reflection³⁰ ‘... to allow the reality of theology to come through its distinct form, namely experience correlated with tradition for the sake of praxis.’³¹ By engaging in theological reflection, the church can be liberated from the fear of transgressing the Prayer Book and the fear of syncretising the liturgical worship. In addition, the whole community, both clergy and lay people, are involved in the process of inculturating the Anglican worship, which subsequently, empowers them to fully embrace worship that is relevant, meaningful and engaging.

The implications of these symbolic actions can be the motivating force to inculturate the Anglican worship in Sabah so that Christianity can thrust its roots into the culture of the indigenous people, and also into the diverse culture of the Malaysian society. In this way, not only Christians in Sabah can embody Christian worship and become effective witnesses in the multi-cultural context of Malaysia but also people of other faiths will have the opportunity to feel and express that the church has something to offer to them because they can identify with some of the local elements, symbols and expressions reflected in the liturgical worship. In other words, inculturated worship will

³⁰ Tovey 2004: 156-160.

³¹ Kinast, R. L. What Are They Saying about Theological Reflection? 2000:3. See also ‘An Inculturation Style of Theological Reflection’ 2000: 40-41.

renew and strengthen the church's witness and certainly contribute to *Muhibah*³² in the country. Furthermore, Christians will also have the possibility to learn from the rituals of other traditions and this is important if the Christian faith is truly to become localised. Consequently, an inculturated liturgy would enable an effective formation of the church, the body of Christ. This indicates that the primary agent of inculturation is the church.

Examining the liturgical worship of the Anglican Church of Sabah, it is necessary for the church to inculturate its worship in the light of the spirituality of the indigenous people, including the Kadazandusun. In view of this, I would like to propose various ways of deepening the inculturation of Anglican worship.

2.2.1 To Develop Anglican Liturgy Relevant for Indigenous Peoples' Spirituality

It has been always a struggle for the indigenous peoples to use the written and fixed liturgy in the Prayer Book. It is foreign to their oral culture. Furthermore, the indigenous peoples in the rural parts of Sabah are comprised of two groups of people, namely the literate (mostly young people) and non-literate (the elderly). The young people in the rural areas can easily follow the Prayer Book in the Malay language because they can read and write. The elderly, however, find it difficult. The use of their mother tongue in worship is much more appropriate to them.

In response to my question about the significance of liturgy in Anglican worship [Appendix I (d)], a former diocesan priest suggests:

Modernise it in its delivery of music, liturgy and communication of God's word. □ See where the congregation is and adjust the liturgy to it rather to have a set liturgy that requires the congregation to meet it so to understand and appreciate it. □ 'Anglican' worship needs to be worked out so to offer the freedom of different liturgy to meet the needs of a vastly different world we live in. At the same time, there needs to be some distinction to identify us as 'Anglican'.³³

His suggestion indicates the need for revising or inculturating the Anglican worship according to the context of the receiving people.

³² *Muhibah* means goodwill. In the context of Malaysia, *muhibah* promotes the importance of maintaining peace and harmony among Malaysians who come from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds.

³³ Personal communication on 9 January 2012.

The indigenous people are community and family-oriented. In view of this, it is appropriate to inculturate the liturgical worship by considering the religious and cultural beliefs and practices of the Kadazandusun as discussed in chapter 4, particularly the traditional religious rites (e.g. sense of sacrifice) and social structure of the community (e.g. sense of community). This will also be a way of integrating corporate worship and daily life. For instance, designing an alternative order of service that is less structured and less wordy will be appreciated by the Malay-speaking congregations, especially in the rural areas due to the non-literate background of the members.³⁴

In response to the survey based on the questionnaire in Appendix I (b), the respondents provided some comments and suggestions from their assessment on the worship in the Anglican Church, which could be considered for implementing inculturation:

1) Praising God in locally composed songs or the Psalms accompanied by indigenous music using traditional musical instruments that are familiar to them and less expensive compared to modern, imported, expensive and foreign musical instruments.

2) Listening to the Word of God through the reading of the Bible in the local language and to sermons that are exegetical and interpreted clearly (Bible hermeneutics) or related to a theme of the readings with illustrations in the form of stories³⁵ rather than long winded sermons with unrelated jokes and irrelevant stories or ‘flashy sermon outlines’ reflected on the LCD screen. They also suggest the diocese provide preachers with concrete Bible knowledge and theological education because they consider preaching the Word of God a very important task.³⁶

3) Intercession to be conducted in variation of forms but not in the forms of altar calls and exorcism. For instance, in responsive forms that allows the congregation to pray together or appointing two or three members of the congregation to pray for specific items or at times praying together with voices.

4) Prayer items include: i) family well-being, ii) local congregation, iii) other congregations of the parish, iv) the diocese and diocesan bishops, clergy, pastoral staff, evangelists, lay readers, especially for God’s leading and guidance in handling God’s Word and ministries in the church, v) church worldwide, vi) local community, vii) society and viii) world.³⁷

³⁴ In the past 20 years, there are more Malay-speaking congregations in the urban areas because young people are migrating to the cities to study or to work.

³⁵ Perhaps it is necessary to preach using the method of *Tangon* – conveying important message in the form of story-telling or indigenous aphorisms.

³⁶ Comments and suggestions on sermons in the survey [Appendix I (b)].

³⁷ Comments and suggestions on intercessions in the survey [Appendix I (b)].

5) Time allocated for prayer ministry after the formal service.³⁸ For instance, praying for the sick or those who are facing problems related to family and other aspects of life. The indigenous people, including the Kadazandusun have a strong sense of communal life or *mogitabang* that includes showing concern and caring for one another. For them, prayer is a way of *mogitabang*, which can be interpreted as carrying each other's burden (Galatians 6:2-5).

6) Holy Communion is highly regarded as it reminds them again and again about God's amazing love and grace revealed through Jesus Christ. They would appreciate if teaching on the Holy Communion to be given as compared to *sogit*. Some respondents expressed that for them, this is the most solemn, meaningful and moving part of the liturgical worship.

7. For congregations in the rural areas, Sunday worship is a celebration, coming together to worship God, to have fellowship '*persekutuan*' with one another and to strengthen their relationship as brothers and sisters in the Body of Christ – '*saudara-saudari dalam Tubuh Kristus*'.

For the liturgy to be more effective, it must be welcoming to the indigenous people whilst at the same time retaining its overall structure. It is essential to investigate critically the religious symbols of the indigenous people so that they can be used to enrich and interpret the liturgy.

2.2.2 Taming Pseudo-Charismatic Worship to the Liturgy

Music has in some ways transformed the worship services in the Anglican Church in Sabah as a consequence of the Pentecostal and Charismatic phenomena. Modern music has opened up the whole world to the younger generation. They prefer contemporary, or free and fluid forms of worship rather than the liturgy of the Anglican Church.³⁹ But today the pseudo-Charismatic worship is just as rigid and fixed as the Anglican liturgy following the same form week by week. There is little spontaneity or freedom in the Spirit. Everything is rehearsed and predictable.

³⁸Prayer is an important aspect of the spirituality of the indigenous people since the beginning of the Anglican Church in Sabah. Prayer was and continues to be regarded as the 'tool' to cast away fear of the spirits, to ask for healing of any forms of sickness, to call out to God for help in times of anxieties and troubles.

³⁹ Based on the responses of the youths to the questionnaire [Appendix I (d)].

Bishop Albert Vun asserts, ‘we must write new songs to worship God while still valuing the old hymns.’⁴⁰ Precisely, for the Anglican Church to maintain its liturgical worship, it is wise to find a balance between Christian hymns that reflect Scriptures and the life of the church, and contemporary Christian songs that speak to the hearts of the young generation.

Both the music and songs must be integrated into the liturgy and not used as an alternative (pre-worship) service, or referred to as ‘Praise and Worship’. This requires educating both the music group and worship leaders about the relationship of the music to the liturgy. The songs need to correspond with the rubrics of liturgy that include praise, thanksgiving, confession, intercession, listening to the Word, and blessing or benediction. It is critical to reassess the contemporary songs, which tend to be more individualistic and more about emotional responses (feeling), compared to the corporate nature of older hymns that are biblical and theologically grounded and are the voice of the whole body rather than the individual.

Reflecting on the development of worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah in the last three decades, it is undeniable that both genres of songs are needed for the different generations. This must be done by creating balance in order for the worship of the church to meet the needs of everyone.

2.2.3 Writing and Composing Local Christian Songs

Songs translated from English and Indonesian are used in worship services but they are not a substitute for original material with a feel for the local context. The contemporary songs certainly cater to meet the needs of, and may be relevant to the younger generation, but they are strange and foreign to the older generation. Bishop Vun asserts, ‘We must be willing to let young people express their faith in God in a way that can reach their generation.’⁴¹ Likewise, Bishop Tais suggests that ‘good and sound Christian

⁴⁰ Bishop Albert Vun, ‘The Way Forward’ in Sabah Anglican Diocese Golden Jubilee History (2012): 316.

⁴¹ Ibid., (2012): 316.

songs need to be introduced and composed locally.⁴² For this reason, it is important for the church to encourage and to train personnel who are gifted in music to write and compose local Christian songs.

Lim Swee Hong, a well-published author in global music in his monograph, 'Giving Voice to Asian Christians' states, 'The development of contextual congregational song is not limited to composers but equally dependent on individuals who affirm the value of his effort of localisation of Christian church music.'⁴³ In Sabah, a starting point is the Scriptures in the Malay language or in the local languages.⁴⁴ It would be meaningful and edifying if 'Scripture choruses' could be put to music incorporating many themes that appear in the liturgy. These would be closely based on the Scripture texts and would help the congregation to learn or even memorise the Scriptures. The Psalms could also be sung using local musical instruments with local tunes.⁴⁵ In addition, short songs or responses could be prepared as part of the liturgy in the Malay language and in the local dialects such as Kadazandusun. It is necessary to revive some of the indigenous people's songs for use in worship by changing the lyrics based on Scriptures or Christian life experience.

2.2.4 Architecture, Furnishings, Decoration and Clothing

It is necessary to consider integrating indigenous elements in the architecture, furnishings and decoration of the church and clothing of the clergy in order to create a worship environment with a cultural expression. Examining the social structure and cultural practices of the indigenous people will provide ideas for inculturating the external expressions of worship that can speak to the indigenous culture.

2.2.5 Traditional Musical Instruments and Music in Worship Services

⁴² Personal correspondence with Bishop Melter Jiki Tais on 27 February 2013.

⁴³ Lim Swee Hong, 'Practice of Church Music in Southeast Asia', unpublished paper.

⁴⁴ In the 1960s –1970s, the Malay-speaking congregations relied on hymns translated into the Indonesian language and short Indonesian choruses. Today most of the Indonesian worship songs are translated from Hillsong and other contemporary Christian songs.

⁴⁵ In the 1990s, students in STS experimented putting local tunes to some of the Psalms and used them in worship. This attempt needs to be encouraged and taken seriously by the indigenous churches in Sabah.

Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan, the Kadazandusun Chair, Universiti Malaysia Sabah, states that the nature and performance of the traditional musical instruments in Sabah reflect the culture and history of the peoples.⁴⁶ Considering her statement, it is clear that it is important to explore and create ways of using traditional musical instruments in Christian worship. Traditional musical instruments such as gongs, kulintangan, sompotan, bungkau, suling, drums and others may seem limited for corporate worship but at least can be used as accompaniment for corporate songs. Bishop Tais recommends, ‘Try to integrate indigenous musical instruments in worship.’⁴⁷ We need to be creative and open-minded.

They certainly can be integrated into worship by creating a space for them as an accompaniment to the existing musical instruments in the churches. For instance, they can be used as a call to worship or during the service to mark transitions, or maybe the call for a corporate response. Probably more important are local rhythms that can be played with a keyboard or drums that mark out the music as indigenous. Subsequently, integrating traditional musical instruments with modern musical instruments during worship will create a sense of belonging for the worshippers especially the older generation. It will also create awareness among young people to recognise and appreciate their own traditional musical instruments and music.

2.2.6 To establish a multicultural Anglican Church: One church with many cultural influences

Considering the history and development of the Anglican Church in Sabah, it is evident that the church is structurally and organisationally one church but diverse in culture. Apart from Western influence or English roots, there are at least three cultural influences, from the Chinese who are Chinese educated, English educated or Malay-educated, and the indigenous peoples who are, dialect-speaking, Malay speaking and English speaking. In view of its cultural diversity, unlike other indigenous churches it is heterogeneous and multicultural. In spite of the diverse cultural influences, since the

⁴⁶ Personal conversation with Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan about traditional music in Sabah and how they can be integrated in Christian worship at the Sabah Theological Seminary, Kota Kinabalu on 28 February 2013.

⁴⁷ My personal correspondence with Bishop Melter Jiki Tais on 27 February 2013.

1970s, the dominant culture is Chinese, and is characterised by hierarchy, patriarchy and the clear delineation of status. The cultural differences between the Chinese and indigenous people have impacted on the ecclesiastical structure of the Anglican Church and its attitude to women in ministry. The Chinese and indigenous cultures are incompatible at many points. There is no one church but several distinct cultures. Each demands examination for the process of inculturating the worship. In order to establish a truly multicultural church that recognises and accommodates the cultural understanding and background of the indigenous peoples, the development and recognition of indigenous leadership is vital.

2.2.6 Worship Service in the Mother Tongue

Today, the Malay language is widely used in Malaysia and it is not surprising that the second generation of Christians onwards prefer to speak the language not only in schools but also at home. The Malay language has become the *lingua franca* of the diverse ethnic groups in Malaysia. Nonetheless, congregations, particularly in the villages, need to be able to use their mother tongue during worship. This requires a translated liturgy or liturgy in the vernacular through Scripture readings, prayers, songs, preaching, announcements or notices and short responses. Language as a medium for communication is vitally important for people to feel that the worship speaks to their hearts and is, therefore, meaningful to them. In response to my question, ‘How do we make the Anglican worship in Sabah more “Sabahan” or “indigenous”?’ Bishop Tais, the first indigenous diocesan assistant bishop, proposes that indigenous languages (apart the Malay language) need to be introduced in worship services.⁴⁸ Due to the diversity of the Malay-speaking congregations in the urban areas, it is not relevant to use the Kadazandusun language or other local languages as the medium of instruction but for one of the Bible readings or when reciting the Lord’s Prayer together.

2.3 Theological Reflection on Kadazandusun Spirituality

In many ways the Christian Gospel is closer to Kadazandusun culture than Western secular society. A re-orientation of understanding of the encounter of Anglicanism and

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Kadazandusun spirituality is required in order to deepen inculturation of the Anglican worship. Based on my findings in this research, I now look at some of the significant beliefs and practices of the Kadazandusun and reflect on how they can be integrated into Christian beliefs and practices.

The respect engendered for the natural environment because it is spirit-filled needs to be transformed to a respect for Creation as the creation of God, the Creator. The fear of spirits is a reality among the Kadazandusun, needs to be displaced because Christians, regardless of their religio-cultural backgrounds, are filled and guided by the Holy Spirit and because of Christ on the cross are delivered from the power of the evil one.

Sin can be understood as the imbalance and disharmony that formerly the Kadazandusun sought to cure through *sogit*. Sin destroys one's relationship with God and others, but the permanent solution is Christ on the cross and the transformation that occurs through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

The *Tadau Kaamatan* or Harvest Festival is an appropriate time to give thanks to God, the Creator and sustainer for abundant blessings and to make special offerings from one's material blessings. It is a good time to remember Pentecost and also a Jewish Harvest Festival and the beginning of the Church.⁴⁹

Praying for healing or anointing oil for healing is culturally relevant and, therefore, there is a need to reflect critically on the significance of traditional healing rather than to simply disregard the practice, particularly the use of herbal medicine.

There is also a need to look at how funerals are conducted to see what parallels there might be between the Christian celebration and cultural practice. The community involvement with the family is very positive and very similar to the Christian understanding of being one family and bearing each other's burdens.

⁴⁹ I gave a reflection on *Tadau Kaamatan* looking at the converging points between the Kadazandusun harvest festival to the Jewish Harvest Festival and Pentecost in the Sabah Theological Seminary in Kota Kinabalu in conjunction to its annual Harvest Festival celebration in May 2007.

The Lord's Supper or Holy Communion is very instrumental in the life of the church. The Holy Communion and preaching of the Word are both highly regarded by Anglicans in Sabah as a consequence of the SPG and CMS influences. It is crucial to examine any parallels between the Holy Communion and the Kadazandusun's beliefs and practices related to *sogit* (sacrifice).⁵⁰

3. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

This research has investigated the impact of Anglicanism in the form of liturgical worship in the Anglican Church of Sabah, Malaysia in the light of the spirituality of the indigenous people, specifically the Kadazandusun, by examining both the historical development of the Anglican Church in Sabah and the religious and cultural background and subsequently assessing and critiquing the encounter between Anglican and Kadazandusun spirituality with the intention of proposing ways of inculturating an indigenous Anglican worship that will empower them to embrace Christianity fully as indigenous Christians.

This research makes a unique contribution to the understanding of the impact of Anglicanism on the liturgical worship in Sabah in the light of the spirituality of the indigenous people, specifically the Kadazandusun who are representatives of the various ethnic groups in Sabah, Malaysia. This contributes to the study of inculturation of Christian worship in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah since it will develop the worship life of the church and enhance the needs and hopes of the indigenous people, in which their beliefs and values will be critically assessed and integrated in the liturgical worship. It also contributes to the study of liturgical inculturation in the Anglican Province of Southeast Asia, the Anglican Communion and the study of inculturation in general. Although inculturation has begun and has been intentionally implemented in Africa, Latin America as well in other parts in Asia, especially in the Catholic Church,

⁵⁰ Rev. Lidis Singkung wrote about *sogit* for his B.Th. thesis in Trinity Theological College, Singapore:

In my sermon last Maundy Thursday service on 28 March 2013 in Good Shepherd Church, Sandakan, I tried to draw the parallel between the significance of paschal lamb and animals sacrificed during *sogit* ceremonies. I received some encouraging responses from the congregation. It is necessary to reflect theologically on the message of the Bible and its implications for the spirituality of the indigenous people.

little progress has been made in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah as indicated in this research and in the wider Anglican Province of Southeast Asia.

The outcome of this research challenges the Anglican Diocese of Sabah to inculturate its worship and subsequently to develop its own indigenous Anglican liturgical worship⁵¹ relevant to its own context so as to empower the indigenous people to embrace Christianity fully.

4. AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It is necessary to clarify that this research has focused on the Kadazandusun ethnic group residing in the East coast of Sabah who were first evangelised in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Today, the dynamic of the Malay-speaking congregation in the Anglican Church of Sabah is very different. It is more diverse with the presence of other ethnic groups in Sabah - Indians and Chinese, who are Malay-educated, as well as Torajas and Minado from Indonesia, and Filipinos, who came to Sabah for economic purposes. Due to this recent scenario, for further research, it will be appropriate to study the religio-cultural backgrounds of these various ethnic groups in order to engage them in Anglican worship. Furthermore, the Diocese of Sabah is comprised of three main congregations: the English-speaking, Chinese-speaking and Malay-speaking groups. This research is limited to the Malay-speaking group and it is therefore significant to implement the inculturation process in the other congregations and challenge them to develop their own Anglican worship relevant to their religio-cultural backgrounds and contexts. Looking ahead, it is my goal that this research will inspire and challenge other church traditions in Sabah and beyond to re-examine their worship and to implement the inculturation process to enhance the spirituality of their congregations.

⁵¹ The Anglican churches in Africa have taken up the challenge of Lambeth 1988 and published 'Anglican Liturgical Inculturation'. See Gitari (ed.), 1994.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The implementation of inculturation needs to be a constant task for the Anglican Diocese of Sabah and other dioceses in the Anglican Province of Southeast Asia for the spiritual well-being of the various congregations. Furthermore, it is also crucial for the Anglican Church to continue assessing its worship and to critically discern new phenomena or influences before replicating, accommodating, or simply integrating them into the Anglican worship. However, this can only be done with deep theological reflections on the part of the clergy and theological educators in order to lead and guide the congregations. According to a former Bishop of the Diocese of Sabah, there is a tendency for the congregations to just follow what the clergy and church leaders present during the worship services with the impression and conviction that it is the way of doing Christian worship.⁵² For this reason, studies on worship and liturgy have to be deepened and be biblically, as well as theologically, grounded and at the same time relevant to the time and context.

In addition, it is important to recognise that in studying inculturation or contextualisation both the present cultural context and Christian heritage need to be taken into consideration. In order to explore creative, relevant and meaningful ways of implementing inculturation of Christian worship, it is crucial to re-examine the characteristics of Anglican worship based on the Prayer Book, that through cross-cultural mission has provided both rich theological expressions as well as a sense of unity throughout the global Anglican Communion. For that reason, it will not do justice to simply disregard the Prayer Book, often referred to as ‘liturgy’ in Sabah, based on the criteria that it is ancient, foreign and, therefore, irrelevant. It is equally important to be aware that not all new styles and forms of worship are meaningful, relevant and engaging to the congregations or helpful in enhancing spirituality. Thus, the Anglican Church in Sabah in particular, and the Anglican Province of Southeast Asia in general, need to recognise that it is critical to inculturate the Anglican worship in order for the

⁵² Personal communication on 18 January 2013 in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.

church to communicate and witness Christian faith faithfully in its context akin to its Anglican identity.

To respond to future challenges of inculturating Anglican worship, it is critical for the Anglican Church in Sabah to continue reassessing its worship by considering questions such as: How can the Anglican Church in Sabah engage with indigenous traditions in order to enrich its worship? What can the Anglican Church in Sabah learn from the diverse cultures in the Malaysian context to enrich its ways of worship as a witness to the multicultural society? What models of excellence from the varied contexts in Asia, Africa and Central and Latin America could the Anglican Church of Sabah learn? How can the Anglican worship in Sabah connect with the needs of the modern world? Consequently, in the quest of communicating Christ incarnate and the Christian message through worship, it is crucial that the Anglican Church in Sabah live out its vision and mission statement: ‘To build strong local churches throughout Sabah and beyond that are passionate in worship, powerful in preaching and prepared for effective mission and evangelism.’⁵³

⁵³ See website of the Anglican Church of Sabah: www.anglicansabah.org

APPENDICES

Appendix I (a)

Questionnaire for first generation Christians

1. How long have you been a Christian and a member of the Anglican Church?
2. Why did you decide to become a Christian?
3. How did you become a Christian?
4. What was the biggest challenge of deciding to become a Christian?
5. Would you like to share your personal story (*kesaksian*)¹ about your conversion?

Appendix I (b)

Questionnaire given to different women and Bible-study/fellowship groups of the Anglican Church of Sabah

Sila beri penilaian atau pandangan peribadi saudara/saudari mengenai kebaktian penyembahan dalam Diosis Anglikan Sabah.

(Give your evaluation and comments concernin the worship service in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah)

Komen/cadangan (Comments/Suggestions):

Atur cara kebaktian (liturgi) (Order of service/liturgy)
Perayaan Perjamuan Kudus (Eucharist)
Pembacaan Alkitab (Bible reading)
Khutbah (Sermon)
Doa syafaat (Intercession)
Pengakuan Iman (Creed)
Nyanyian (Hymns/songs)
Muzik (Music)
Tarian rebana (Tamborine dance)

¹ *Kesaksian* is understood as personal testimony of one's conversion. A participant's *kesaksian* can be considered as looking into the 'window' of his/her life as a Christian.

Questions for discussion:

1. Ada kah buku Peraturan Sembahyang Anglikan (atur cara kebaktian) membantu Jemaah untuk menyembah Allah dan bertumbuh secara rohani?
(Does the Prayer book help the congregation to worship God and grow spiritually?)
2. Menurut pandangan dan pengalaman anda, yang mana lebih sesuai digunakan atur cara kebaktian dalam bentuk buku atau 'power point'? Beri komen anda.
(According to your opinion and experience, which is more helpful to follow the order of service: book or power point? Please comment.)
3. Apa kah kekuatan-kekuatan penyembahan Anglikan di Sabah?
(What are the strengths of Anglican worship in Sabah?)
4. Apa kah kelemahan-kelemahan penyembahan Anglikan di Sabah?
(What are the weaknesses of the Anglican worship in Sabah?)
5. Bagaimana kah kita menjadikan penyembahan Anglikan lebih bersifat 'Sabah' atau lebih sesuai dengan budaya orang tempatan? Beri komen anda mengenai cara penyembahan sekarang.
(How do we make Anglican worship more 'Sabahan' or relevant to our culture? Give your comments on the present worship.)
6. Apa kah cadangan dan visi anda untuk menjadikan penyembahan Anglikan di Sabah lebih bermakna, berkesan dan sesuai untuk pertumbuhan rohani anggota-anggota jemaah?
(What are your suggestion and vision in order to make worship more meaningful, relevant for the spirituality of the congregation?)

Appendix 1 (c)

Questionnaire for the Anglican youth in Sabah (Facebook group: Members of Anglican worldwide Malay-speaking) and youth in various Anglican congregations in Sabah

1) Beri pandangan anda mengenai ibadah/penyembahan gereja kita dari segi: atur cara kebaktian atau liturgi, Perjamuan Kudus, pembacaan Firman Tuhan, khutbah, doa syafaat & doa-doa lain, Pengakuan Iman Nisea, nyanyian, muzik, dll).

(Give your opinion about the worship in in terms of the order of service or liturgy, Holy Communion, Bible reading, sermon, intercession and prayers, Creed, songs, music, etc.)

2) Apa kah kekuatan ibadah/penyembahan Anglikan?

(What are the strengths of the Anglican worship?)

3) Apa kah kelemahan ibadah/penyembahan Anglikan?

(What are the weaknesses of the Anglican worship?)

4) Apa kah keunikan (keistimewaan) ibadah/penyembahan Anglikan?

(What is the uniqueness of the Anglican worship?)

5) Apa kah wawasan anda untuk ibadah Anglikan?

(What is your vision for our Anglican worship?)

Appendix I (d)

Questionnaire given to bishops, priests, pastors and evangelists of the Anglican Church of Sabah

Please give your personal assessment as a bishop/priest/pastor/evangelist in our diocese on the worship services of the Anglican Church in Sabah in terms of the:

Order of service or liturgy,
Holy Communion
Bible reading
Sermon
Intercession and prayers
Creed
Hymns and songs
Music

2. Is the Prayer/liturgy book helpful for our Malay-speaking congregations (indigenous people) especially in the rural churches to worship? Please comment.

2. What are the strengths of the Anglican worship in Sabah?

3. What are the weaknesses of the Anglican worship in Sabah?

4. How do we make the Anglican worship in Sabah more 'Sabahan' or 'indigenous'?

5) What are your suggestions and vision in order to make our Anglican worship in Sabah more meaningful, effective and relevant for the spirituality of our congregations?

6) Please give your personal evaluation and reflections as an indigenous (Kadazan-dusun) bishop/priest/pastor how we can enrich our Anglican worship in Sabah as a contribution to the whole Anglican Communion.

Appendix II (a)

With the ending of the single Diocese of Borneo (once Labuan and Sarawak)

<u>Name of Bishop</u>	<u>Consecration</u>	<u>Resignation</u>
F. McDougall	18 Oct 1855	1867
W. Chambers	1869	1879
F. Hose	25 May 1881	1908
W. R. Mounsey	25 March 1909	1916
L. Danson	21 Sept 1917	3 Sept 1931
N. B. Hudson	28 Oct 1931	1937
F. S. Hollis	7 June 1938	1948
N. E. Cornwall	1 Nov 1949	31 Oct 1962

Appendix II (b)

Bishops of Sabah

<u>Name</u>	<u>Year of Service</u>
James Wong	1962-1965
Roland Koh	1965-1970
Luke Chhoa	1971-1990
Yong Ping Chung	1990-2005
Albert Vun	2005- Present

Appendix II (c)

Mission Schools in North Borneo in 1905-1940²

	1905	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940
Roman Catholics	231	494	1007	1359	1735	2304
SPG	152	311	315	439	653	807
Basel	67	179	424	571	710	807

Appendix III

SABAH LAW: SCHEDULE (Section 29) – *Sogit*

SUITS FOR WHICH THE LIMITATION IS 1 YEAR

For *sogit* payable by any person who remarries before the bereavement period of his/her spouse's death is over;

Limitation period begins when the remarriage become known to the aggrieved person.

For *sogit* payable by any person who commits *lapau*³;

Limitation period begins when the lapau become known to the spouse.

² K. M. George, 'The Contributions of Mission Schools to the Development of the Church and State of Sabah', in Diocese of Sabah Silver Jubilee 1962-1987, 26-28)

³ 'Lapau' refers to adultery. In the Kadazandusun culture, adultery is a violation of the marriage of the husband and wife as well as violation to the relationship of the two families represented by the couple.

For *sogit* payable by a woman who gives birth in the house belonging to or in the lawful possession of another person;

Limitation period begins when the woman gives birth.

For *adat* fine, *sogit* or compensation payable by any person who commits an offence in respect of three main aspects as stated below:

Burning, digging or damaging a grave;

Burying a corpse;

Death of a person in a house or farmland belonging to or in the lawful possession of another who is not a relative of the deceased;

Limitation period begins when the offence become known to the plaintiff.

SUITS FOR WHICH THE LIMITATION PERIODS IS 3 YEARS

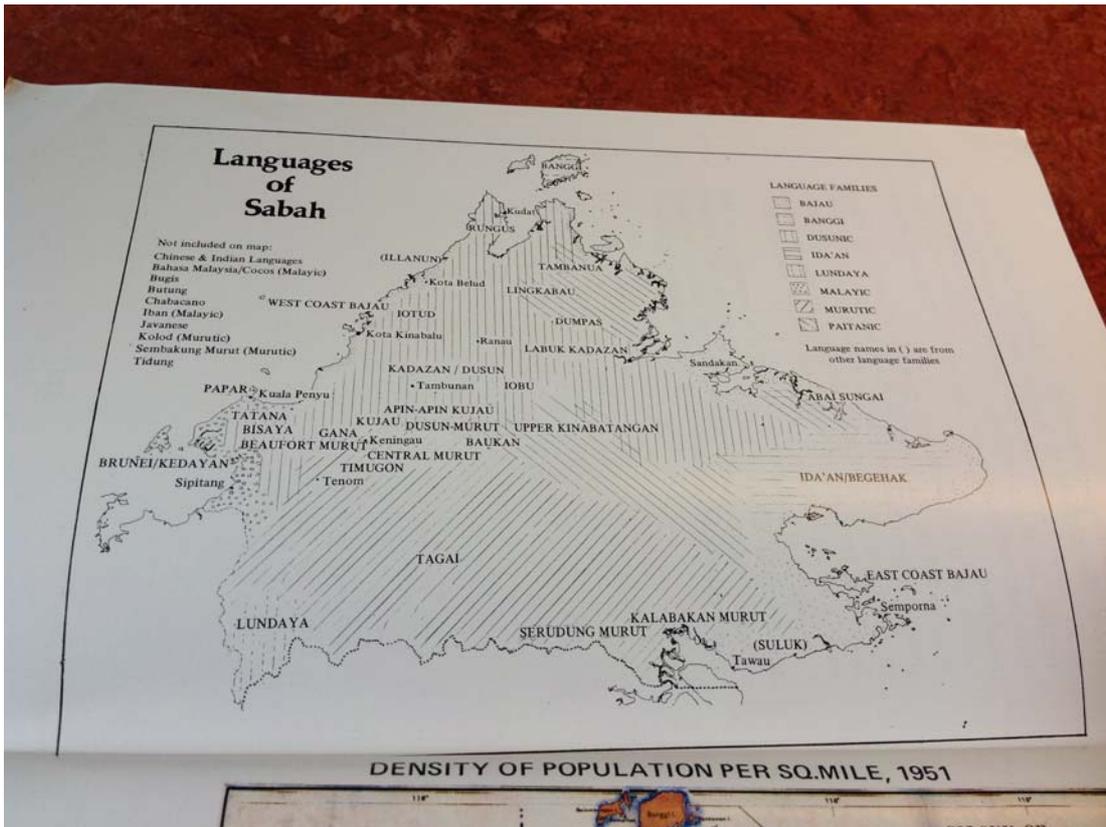
For *sogit*, *lapau* or defamation payable by the defendant for offences in respect of adultery or illicit sexual intercourse;

Limitation period begins when the adultery or illicit sexual intercourse become known to the plaintiff.

For *sogit* payable by the defendant in respect of the offence of incest;

Limitation period begins when the incestuous act become known to the plaintiff.

Appendix IV



Appendix V

Atoran Sambayang Pakazon Saralom Eklisia Jesselton (The Order of Holy Communion for Use in the Diocese of Jesselton) (USPG 915)

Order of Service

English

Kadazan Labuk

The Service

Sambayang

PART 1

BAGIAN 1

The Preparation	Panadi-ian
The Lord's Prayer	Sambayang Tuhan Tokou
The Collect for Purity	Sambayang Makitaak Do Kasusian
The Ten Commandments	Ukuman Apulu
The Ministry of the Word	Tuturan Do Kinoringan
The Collect	Tawar
The Epistle	Epistola
The Gospel	Injil
The Creed	Aku Mangarap
The Sermon	Ajaran

PART 2

BAGIAN 2

The Three Great Central Actions	Talu Kinurion I Agazo
1. The Offertory	1. Pataakan
Hymn	Nyanyian
Prayer/Intercession	Sambayang
The Invitation	Mongovit Mangakun Kasalaan
The Confession	Mangakun Kasalaan
The Absolution	Tinangaran I Makiampun
The Words of Encouragement	Tinangaran Pasanang Ginavo
2. Consecration	2. Konsekrishen
The Prayer of Humble Approach	Sambayang Asuribak Ginavo
The Prayer of Consecration	Sambayang Mamberkat Ruti Om Vaig Angor
3. The Communion	3. Tulun Mangaramit Sakramen

PART 3

BAGIAN 3

The Thanksgiving

Sambayang Rojoon

The Prayer of Oblation

Sambayang Panakaan Do Roti Om Vaig
Angor

The Prayer of Thanksgiving

Sambayang Mongorazou

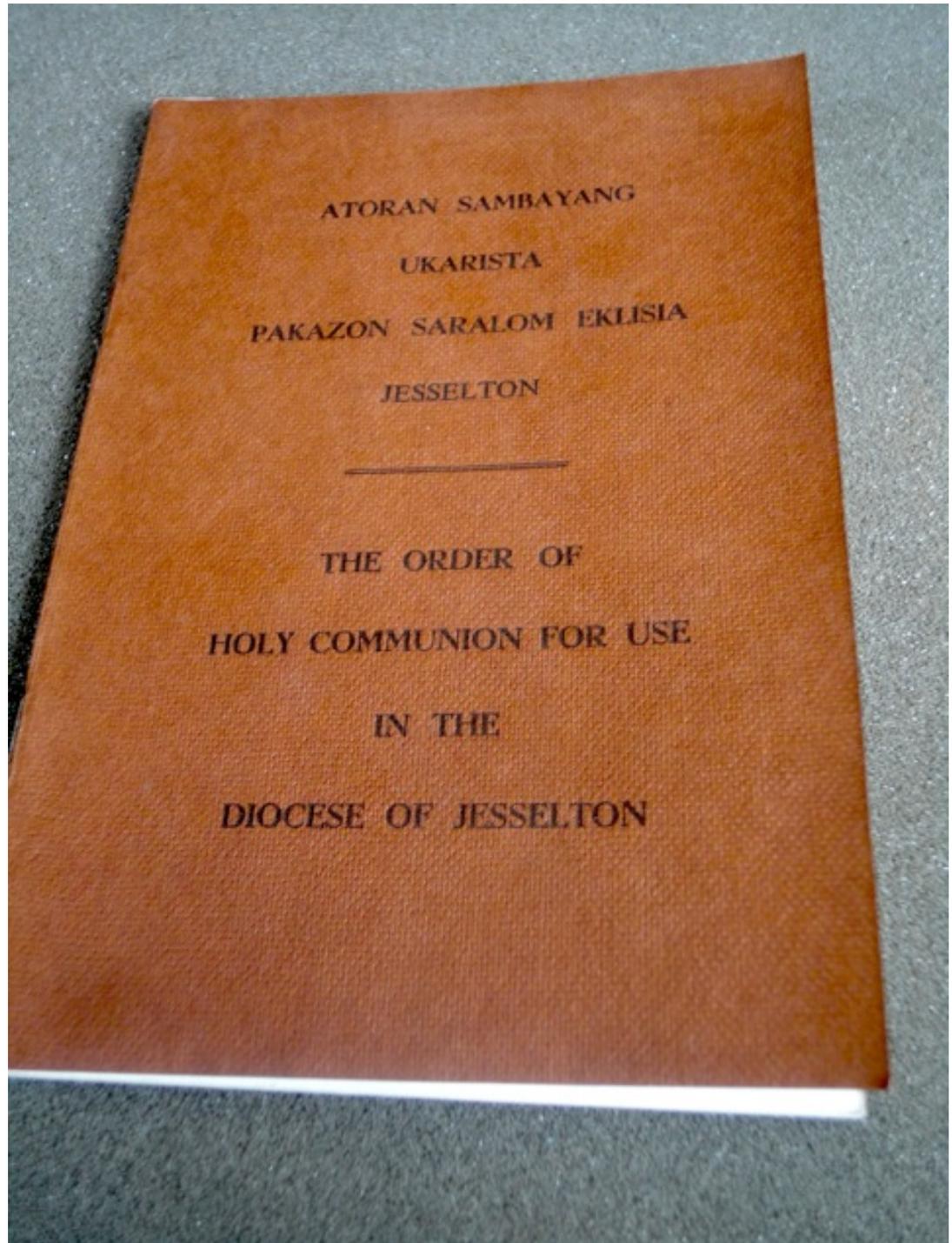
Gloria in Excelsis

Sambayang Mongorazou Gloria

The Blessing

Tinangaran Berkat

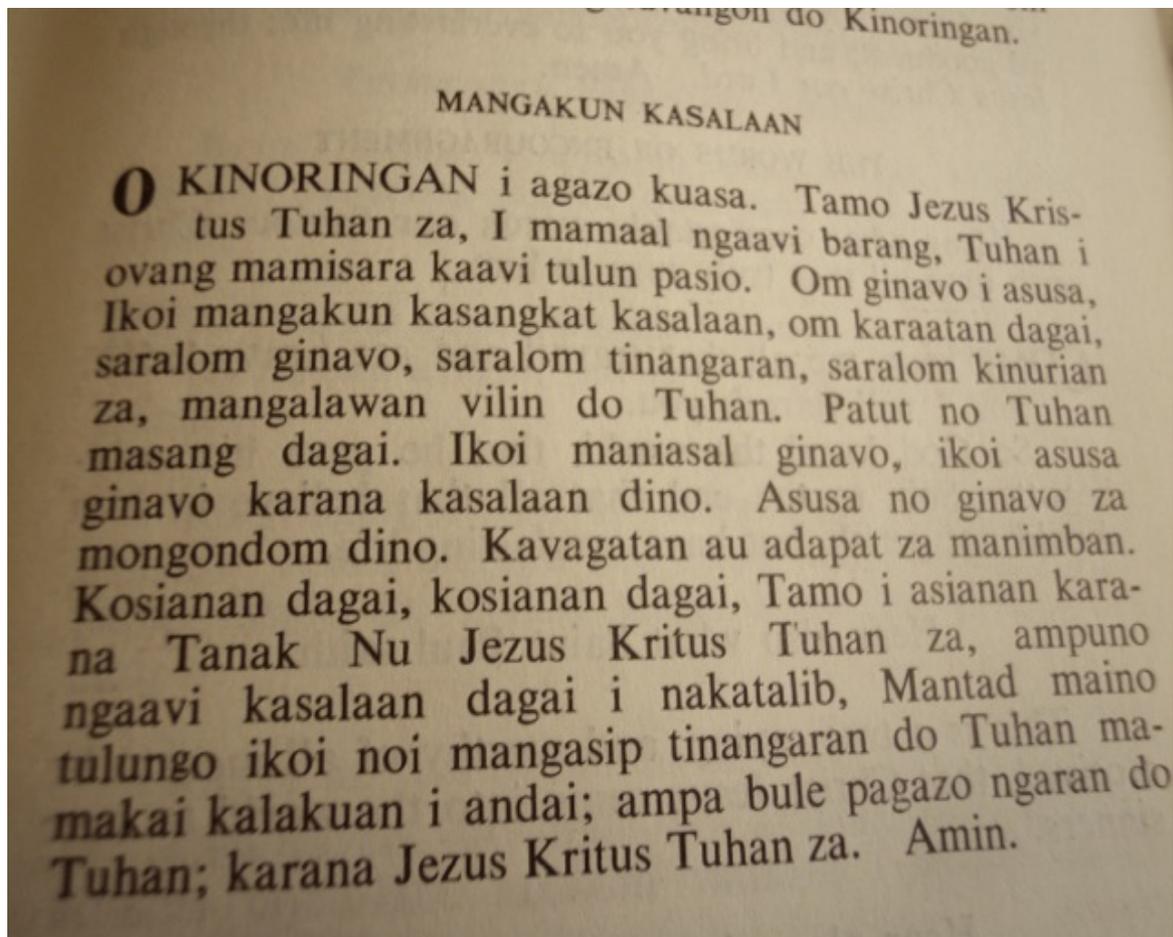
Appendix VI



Prayer book in Kadazandusun Labuk

Appendix VII

Prayer of Confession in Kadazandusun Labuk



Appendix VIII

Prayer Book in Malay language

KEBAKTIAN UMUM (Common Worship)

Berdiri (Stand)

KIDUNG PUJIAN (Hym/Songs)

Pemimpin berkata:

Kita datang bersama-sama
sebagai keluarga Allah di dalam hadirat Bapa,
untuk mempersembahkan syukur dan pujian kepada-Nya,
untuk mendengar dan menerima Firman-Nya yang kudus,
untuk membawa keperluan dunia kepada-Nya,
untuk memohon pengampunan bagi dosa-dosa kita,
untuk menemukan anugerah-Nya,
agar melalui anak-Nya Yesus Kristus
kita dapat memberikan diri kita kepada pelayanan-Nya.

Pemimpin Tuhan berserta kamu.

Semua Dan berserta kamu.

Pemimpin berkata:

Jika kita berkata, bahawa kita tidak berdosa,
kita menipu diri kita sendiri,
dan Allah tidak ada di dalam hati.
Tetapi jika kita mengakui dosa kita kepada Allah,
Dia akan menepati janji-Nya
dan melakukan apa yang adil.
Dia akan mengampunkan dosa kita
dan membersihkan kita
daripada segala perbuatan yang salah.

Pemimpin berkata:

Marilah kita mengakui dosa kepada Allah Mahakuasa.

Berlutut (Prayer of Confession)

**Semua: Allah yang penuh belas kasihan,
Bapa kami di syurga, Pencipta kami
dan Hakim kami,
kami telah berdosa terhadap Engkau
dan terhadap sesama manusia,
baik dalam fikiran, perkataan,
dan perbuatan melalui kelalaian,
kelemahan dan kesalahan yang disengajakan.
Kami sekarang bertaubat
dan benar-benar menyesal atas kesalahan kami.
Bapa ampunilah kami demi Anak-Mu
Yesus Kristus yang telah mati untuk kami.
Kuatkanlah kami supaya dapat mengasihi
dan mentaati Engkau
dalam kehidupan yang baru,
melalui Yesus Kristus Tuhan kami. Amin.**

Paderi Allah yang Mahakuasa (Prayer of Absolution)
mengampuni semua orang
yang mengakui dosa mereka dengan bertaubat,
mengasihani *kamu / kita*,
membebaskan *kamu / kita*
daripada segala *dosamu / kita*,
melalui Yesus Kristus Tuhan kita.
Dia meneguhkan dan menguatkan *kamu / kita*
untuk pelayanan-Nya
dengan kuasa Roh Kudus
dan memelihara *kamu / kita* dalam kehidupan kekal.
Amin.

Berdiri

Pemimpin Tuhan: bukalah bibir kami;

Jemaah: agar mulut kami akan mengisytiharkan pujian kepada-Mu.

Pemimpin: Marilah kita menyembah Tuhan.

Jemaah: Segala pujian bagi nama-Nya.

**Semua Kemuliaan kepada Bapa,
Anak, dan Roh Kudus,
seperti pada mulanya,
sekarang ini sampai selama-lamanya.
Amin.**

PUJIAN DAN PENYEMBAHAN DALAM LAGU (Praise & Worship)

PEMBACAAN KANTIKAL (Canticle)

VENITE, atau JUBILATE

Venite - Mazmur 95

**Marilah kita memuji TUHAN,
dan bernyanyi dengan gembira kepada Allah,
pelindung dan penyelamat kita!**

**Marilah kita menghadap Dia dengan kesyukuran,
dan dengan gembira menyanyikan lagu pujian.**

**TUHAN itu Allah yang berkuasa,
raja perkasa yang menguasai semua dewa.**

**Dia memerintah seluruh bumi, gua yang terdalam
dan juga gunung yang tertinggi.**

**Dia menguasai laut yang dicipta-Nya,
dan juga darat yang dibentuk-Nya.**

**Marilah kita bersujud dan menyembah Dia,
marilah kita berlutut di hadapan TUHAN,
pencipta kita!**

**Dialah Allah kita, kitalah umat yang dipelihara-Nya
seperti kawanan domba yang digembalakan-Nya.**

**Pada hari ini dengarlah firman-Nya,
Jangan degil seperti nenek moyang kamu di Meriba,
ketika mereka berada di gurun, di Masa.**

**Di sana mereka menguji dan mencuba Aku,
sungguhpun mereka sudah melihat perbuatan-Ku.**

**Kemuliaan kepada Bapa, Anak dan Roh Kudus,
seperti pada mulanya, sekarang ini
sampai selama-lamanya. Amin.**

ATAU

Jubilate - Mazmur 100

**Bernyanyilah untuk Tuhan, hai penduduk dunia!
Layanilah Tuhan dengan sukacita,
dan menghadap wajah-Nya
dengan nyanyian sukacita.**

**Sembahlah TUHAN dengan sukacita,
datanglah ke hadirat-Nya dengan lagu-lagu gembira!**

**Akuilah bahawa TUHAN itu Allah.
Dia mencipta kita, dan kita kepunyaan-Nya,
kita umat-Nya, bangsa yang dipelihara-Nya.**

**Masuklah melalui pintu gerbang-Nya
dengan ucapan syukur,
pergilah ke halaman Rumah-Nya dengan pujian.
Bersyukurlah kepada-Nya dan pujilah Dia.**

**TUHAN itu baik, Dia tetap mengasihi umat-Nya
dan setia kepada mereka selama-lamanya.**

**Kemuliaan kepada Bapa, Anak dan Roh Kudus,
seperti pada mulanya, sekarang ini**

sampai selama-lamanya. Amin.

**PEMBACAAN MAZMUR SECARA BERBALAS-BALAS
(Responsive Reading of Psalms)**

Mazmur yang dipilih.

Setiap Mazmur atau kumpulan Mazmur diakhiri dengan:

**Kemuliaan kepada Bapa, Anak dan Roh Kudus,
seperti pada mulanya, sekarang ini
sampai selama-lamanya. Amin.**

Duduk

PEMBACAAN ALKITAB (*Scripture Readings*)

Pembacaan pertama daripada Perjanjian Lama. (Old Testament)

Setelah selesai pembacaan,

Pembaca Inilah Firman Tuhan.

Jemaah Syukur kepada Allah.

Saat teduh.

Berdiri

BENEDITUS, atau AGUNG DAN AJAIB

BENEDITUS (PUJIAN ZAKARIA - Lukas 1:68-79)

**Marilah kita memuji Tuhan, Allah bangsa Israel!
Dia sudah datang untuk menyelamatkan umat-Nya
dan membebaskan mereka.**

**Dia mengurniai kita Penyelamat yang berkuasa,
seorang keturunan Daud, hamba-Nya.**

**Dahulu kala melalui nabi-nabi yang dipilih-Nya,
Tuhan telah berjanji**

**akan menyelamatkan kita daripada musuh,
dan daripada kuasa orang yang membenci kita.**

**Dia berjanji akan merahmati nenek moyang kita,
serta ingat akan janji-Nya yang suci itu.**

**Dia bersumpah kepada nenek moyang kita Abraham,
dan berjanji akan menyelamatkan kita
daripada musuh,
serta membolehkan kita
mengabdikan diri kepada-Nya tanpa takut,**

**supaya kita menjadi suci
dan menyenangkan hati-Nya sepanjang hidup kita.**

**Engkau, hai anakku,
akan disebut nabi Allah Yang Maha tinggi;
Engkau diutus terlebih dahulu daripada Tuhan
supaya merintis jalan untuk-Nya,
supaya memberitahu umat-Nya
bahawa mereka akan diselamatkan,
apabila Allah mengampunkan dosa mereka.**

**Allah kita pengasih dan penyayang.
Bagi menyelamatkan kita,
Dia akan datang bagaikan fajar terang
yang menyinari semua orang yang hidup
dalam kegelapan dan di bawah bayang maut.
Dia akan memimpin kita ke jalan yang menuju
kedamaian.**

**Kemuliaan kepada Bapa, Anak dan Roh Kudus,
seperti pada mulanya, sekarang ini
sampai selama-lamanya. Amin.**

ATAU

AGUNG DAN AJAIB

**Tuhan Allah Mahakuasa,
agung dan ajaib segala perbuatan-Mu:
Adil dan benar segala jalan-Mu
Ya Raja segala bangsa.**

**Siapakah yang tidak memuliakan nama-Mu Ya
Tuhan?
Engkau saja yang layak dan kudus.**

**Semua bangsa akan datang menyembah
di dalam hadirat-Mu:
Sebab keadilan-Mu telah terbukti.**

**Kepada Dia yang duduk di atas takhta
dan bagi Anak Domba:
Pujian, hormat, kuasa dan kemuliaan
sampai selama-lamanya. Amin.**

Duduk

Pembacaan kedua daripada Perjanjian Baru. (New Testament)

Setelah selesai pembacaan,

**Pembaca Inilah Firman Tuhan.
Jemaah Syukur kepada Allah.**

Saat teduh.

KHUTBAH (Sermon)

Berdiri

PEMBACAAN KANTIKAL (Canticle)

PUJIAN GLORIA, atau PENYELAMAT DUNIA

PUJIAN GLORIA (Gloria in Excelsis)

**Kemuliaan kepada Allah di tempat yang Maha tinggi,
dan damai sejahtera kepada umat-Nya di bumi.**

**Tuhan Allah, Raja di syurga,
Allah dan Bapa yang Mahakuasa,**

**Kami bersyukur kepada-Mu,
kami memuji Engkau sebab kemuliaan-Mu.**

**Tuhan Yesus Kristus, Anak tunggal Bapa, Tuhan
Allah,
Domba Allah,**

yang menanggung dosa dunia, kasihanilah kami.

**Engkau yang duduk di sebelah kanan Allah Bapa,
terimalah doa kami.**

Tuhan sajalah yang Kudus, Engkau sajalah Tuhan,

**Engkau sajalah yang Maha tinggi,
Yesus Kristus dengan Roh Kudus,
dalam kemuliaan Allah Bapa. Amin.**

ATAU

**Yesus Penyelamat dunia datanglah kepada kami
dalam belas kasih-Mu:
Kami mencari Engkau untuk menyelamatkan
dan menolong kami.**

**Dengan Salib dan kematian-Mu,
Engkau menyelamatkan umat-Mu:
Kami mencari Engkau untuk menyelamatkan
dan menolong kami.**

**Apabila mereka hampir binasa,
Engkau menyelamatkan murid-murid-Mu:
Kami mencari Engkau untuk menolong
dan menyelamatkan kami.**

**Dalam kemurahan-Mu,
lepaskanlah kami daripada belenggu
yang mengikat kami:
ampunilah dosa-dosa umat-Mu.**

**Jadikanlah nama-Mu dikenali sebagai Penyelamat
dan pembebas yang agung:
Selamatkan dan tolonglah kami
untuk memuji Engkau.**

**Tuhan Yesus Kristus datanglah sekarang
dan tinggal di dalam kami:
dengarlah doa kami
dan sertailah kami senantiasa.**

**Dan apabila Engkau datang dalam kemuliaan:
Jadikanlah kami satu dengan Engkau
dan mendapat bahagian hidup dalam kerajaan-Mu.**

PENGAKUAN IMAN RASULI (Apostles Creed)

**Semua Saya percaya kepada Allah yang tunggal,
Bapa yang Mahakuasa,
Pencipta langit dan bumi.**

**Saya percaya kepada Tuhan Yesus Kristus,
Anak tunggal Allah
yang dilahirkan oleh anak dara Maria,
Dia menderita semasa pemerintahan Pontius
Pilatus,
Dia disalibkan, mati, lalu dikuburkan.
Pada hari yang ketiga, Dia bangkit.
Dia naik ke syurga.
Dia duduk di sebelah kanan Bapa.
Dia akan datang kembali
untuk menghakimi orang yang masih hidup
dan yang sudah mati.**

**Saya percaya kepada Roh Kudus,
Gereja sedunia yang kudus,
dan daripada Rasul-rasul,
pengampunan dosa,
kebangkitan hidup
dan kehidupan yang kekal. Amin.**

Nyanyian dan kutipan PERSEMBAHAN (Offertory)

Berlutut

Pemimpin berkata:

Tuhan, kasihanilah kami.

Jemaah Kristus, kasihanilah kami.

Pemimpin Tuhan, kasihanilah kami.

DOA TUHAN (Lord's Prayer)

Semua: Bapa kami yang di syurga,
Dikuduskanlah nama-Mu,
Datanglah kerajaan-Mu,
Jadilah kehendak-Mu di bumi seperti di syurga.
Berikanlah kami pada hari ini
makanan kami sehari-hari.
Ampunilah kami akan dosa-dosa kami,
Seperti kami juga mengampuni orang-orang
yang bersalah kepada kami.
Janganlah membawa kami ke dalam pencubaan,
Tetapi lepaskanlah kami daripada yang jahat.

**Kerana Engkaulah yang empunya kerajaan,
kuasa, dan kemuliaan,
sekarang dan selama-lamanya. Amin.**

RESPON berikut diucapkan:

Pemimpin Tunjukkanlah belas kasihan-Mu, ya Tuhan;
Jemaah dan karuniakanlah kami keselamatan-Mu.

Pemimpin Ya Tuhan, lindungilah pemerintah kami;
**Jemaah dan dengarkanlah kami
ketika kami berseru kepada-Mu.**

Pemimpin Pakaikanlah jubah kebenaran
kepada para pelayan-Mu;
Jemaah dan biarlah hamba-hamba-Mu bersorak-sorai.

Pemimpin Ya Tuhan, buatlah jalan-jalan-Mu dikenali di bumi;
**Jemaah biarlah bangsa-bangsa mengenali kuasa-Mu
yang menyelamatkan.**

Pemimpin Berikanlah kepada umat-Mu berkat damai sejahtera;
**Jemaah dan biarlah kemuliaan-Mu
melingkupi seluruh dunia.**

Pemimpin Bersihkanlah hati kami ya Allah;
Jemaah dan batin kami dengan roh kebenaran.

DOA HARI INI (Kolekta) (Collect)

DOA INI (Kolekta)

Ya Allah, sumber damai sejahtera dan pencinta keharmonian, mengenali Engkau ialah kehidupan yang kekal, mengabdikan kepada-Mu adalah kemerdekaan yang sempurna. Lindungilah kami hamba-hamba-Mu daripada ancaman musuh-musuh kami; sehingga kami dapat mengandalkan perlindungan-Mu, dan tidak takut kekuatan musuh apapun juga, melalui Yesus Kristus Tuhan kami. **Amin.**

SALAH SATU DOA KOLEKTA ini ialah:

**Semua Bapa yang Mahakuasa dan kekal,
Kami berterima kasih
kerana Engkau telah membawa kami
dengan selamat ke hari yang baru ini.
Lindungilah kami daripada jatuh ke dalam dosa
atau ke dalam bahaya;
tunjukkanlah kami
dalam setiap yang kami lakukan;
dan pimpinlah kami
agar selalu melakukan
apa yang benar di mata-Mu,
melalui Yesus Kristus Tuhan kami. Amin.**

ATAU

**Allah kekal dan Bapa kami,
Engkau menciptakan kami dengan kuasa-Mu,
dan menyelamatkan kami dengan kasih-Mu;
Pimpin dan kuatkanlah kami dengan Roh-Mu,
agar kami dapat
menyerahkan hidup kami dalam kasih
dan melayani satu sama lain
dan kepada Engkau,
melalui Yesus Kristus Tuhan kami. Amin.**

ATAU

**Tuhan yang Mahakuasa dan kekal,
Dia yang melakukan mukjizat terbesar:
berkatilah Bishop dan Paderi pembantu,
serta jemaah dengan roh yang sihat,
agar mereka memberikan komitmen
dalam tugas pelayanan
sehingga mereka dapat
menyenangkan hati-Mu,
urapilah mereka dengan berkat-Mu
yang berkelimpahan.
Dengarlah doa kami, ya Tuhan,
dalam Yesus Kristus,
sebagai penyampai dan pengantara kami. Amin.**

UCAPAN BERKAT (Benediction)

Pemimpin Kasih karunia Tuhan Yesus kita
dan kasih Allah dan persekutuan Roh Kudus
menyertai kita sekalian selama-lamanya. **Amin.**

LAGU PENUTUP (Closing hymn/song)

Appendix IX

Average Sunday Services Attendance including Children (August 2013)

Name of Mission Station (Parish)	Attendance
1. Holy Cross	1132
2. Epiphany	2049
3. Holy Nativity	519
4. St Augustine	1219
5. St John	3540
6. St Philip	666
7. St Luke	1239
7. St Stephen	574
8. St Thomas	647

<u>Name of Mission Station (Parish)</u>	<u>Number of Congregation</u>
1. Holy Cross, Kuala Sapi	25
2. Epiphany, Tongud	20
3. Holy Nativity, Nangoh	17
4. St Augustine, Merotai	44
5. St John, Penangah	21
6. St Philip, Segama	9
7. St Luke, Telupid	15
7. St Stephen, Silabukan	10
8. St Thomas, Tungku	17

Number of churches in the Anglican Diocese of Sabah: 56

Diocesan Priests (including bishops): 48

Diocesan Deacons: 3

Non-stipendiary Priests: 12

Pastors¹: 39

Evangelists: 36

¹ The title 'Pastor' is given to theologically trained men and women.

Glossary

<i>Adat</i> – social and legal customs of the Kadazandusun community
<i>Alasu/ma'amut</i> – ‘hot’ referring to a situation that anger the spirits
<i>Bambaazon/bambarayon</i> – rice spirits that are nurtured during traditional <i>Kaamatan</i> ritual celebrations following the annual harvest
<i>Binorit</i> – ‘spirit people’ or small spirits that live in the ground and look like human beings
<i>Bobolian/bobohizan/bolijan</i> – traditional ritual specialists and spirit mediums
<i>Buku Peraturan Sembayang</i> – Book of Order of Service
<i>Buuk Sambayang</i> – Prayer book
<i>Bumiputera</i> – Literally means ‘prince/son of the soil’, referring to indigenous people in Malaysia
<i>Bungkau</i> – jaw’s harp
<i>Butitin</i> – stars that can help to discern incest in the community
<i>Divato/diwato</i> – guardian spirits
<i>Gongs</i> – bronze or brass musical instruments
<i>Hominodun</i> – the name of the daughter of Kinoringan and Suminundu
<i>Huguan Siau</i> – a warrior or leader of exceptional bravery with supernatural protection
<i>Hukum</i> – fine or penalty
<i>Kadawangan</i> – literally means open space above or perhaps referring to the universe
<i>Kawarangan</i> - goodness
<i>Kinoringan/Minamaal</i> – the Supreme Being; described as <i>Minamangun</i> or Creator God
<i>Komburongo</i> – dried roots of a special kind of plant used for healing
<i>Kulintangan</i> – gongs ensemble
<i>Magavau</i> – a ceremonial ritual performed by bobohizans in honour of <i>bambarayon/bambazon</i> (rice spirit) for the bountiful harvest

<i>Mamalatik</i> – a type of stars used to discern time for planting
<i>Mamiau/berjin</i> – traditional healing ceremony
<i>Minsoguvang</i> – morning stars
<i>Mongitaatabang</i> – social gatherings and helping one another indicating a sense of community living
<i>Mongubit</i> – a form of healing particularly performed to remove sharp pain
<i>Monogit</i> – to offer sacrifice in the form of animals such as pigs or chickens in order to appease the spirits
<i>Nunuk ragang</i> – red banyan tree (nunuk – banyan tree; ragang - red)
<i>Oguhian</i> – respect for people
<i>Ohusian</i> – respect for the environment especially plants and animals
<i>Opuunan</i> – a form of social responsibility
<i>Orang Asli</i> – aboriginal people
Orang Sungai – literally means ‘people of the river’
<i>Ovusung/ma’usung</i> – respect for the elders
<i>Panamparai</i> – a distinctive stone used as ‘protection’ against the malevolent spirits
<i>Patung</i> – a symbol in the form of human body and face (<i>totem</i>) to scare the malevolent spirits
<i>Perang rohani</i> – spiritual warfare
<i>Pikaras</i> – payment in the form of objects such as knife, machete, brass container given to the healer or spiritualist in order to avoid the sickness to return to the patient
<i>Pongkolon</i> – a kind of charm for protection
<i>Rinait</i> – chants recited by the bobohizans during religious ceremonies such as performing healing ceremony
<i>Rogon/mainat</i> – demons
<i>Rusod/kududuwo</i> – the seven spirits of human being; six to strengthen the joints, the seventh resides in the heart.

<i>Sembahyang</i> – to pray or to worship (<i>sembah</i> means to bow in reverence)
Sinandatan – anointed by the spirits
<i>Sogit</i> – ‘cooling compensation’ derived from the word <i>osogit</i> (cold); <i>sogit</i> has to be paid to both human beings and spirits in regard to the offences caused
<i>Sompoton</i> – mouthorgan
<i>Suling</i> – mouthflute
<i>Sumazau</i> – traditional Kadazandusun dance performed in relation to their rituals connected with the spiritual realm
<i>Suminundu</i> – refers to the wife of <i>Kinoringan</i>
<i>Tadau Kaamatan</i> – harvest festival celebrated by Kadazandusun as to commemorate <i>bambarayon</i> (rice spirit)
<i>Tapai</i> – fermented rice or tapioca; considered as the drink in social gatherings and celebrations such as weddings

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